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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1794

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BRIEFS

DOUBLE CITIZENSHIP AGREEMENT--A mutual agreement between the CSSR and the USSR to prevent incurrence of double citizenship was signed in Moscow by the CSSR Minister of Interior J. Obzina and the USSR First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs V. Malcev. [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 7 May 80 p 2]

CSO: 2400

BRIEFS

TECHNICAL AESTHETICS SESSION--Sofia, May 30 (BTA)--The session held here, May 26 through 30, made it possible to discuss a number of matters of the further development of cooperation between the institutes and organizations of technical aesthetics of the socialist countries. The session was attended by heads of institutes and organizations of the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. [AU311519 Sofia BTA in English 1455 GMT 30 May 80]

LEADERS IN PLOVDIV--A conference is taking place in Plovdiv on a nationwide scale to discuss agricultural questions. It is attended by secretaries of local party okrug committees on agricultural affairs and by chairmen of local agro-industrial complexes from all over the country. The conference is also attended by Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee secretary, by Ivan Panev, first secretary of the Plovdiv okrug BCP Committee and by Vasil Tsanov, chairman of the national agro-industrial union, as well as by Dimitur Karamukov, member of the BNAU permanent board. The conference discussed the introduction of modern technological methods in agriculture today. Vasil Tsanov spoke on the tasks of local party and agricultural organs in connection with applying the correct methods in organizing brigade work. The conference continues. [AU230915 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 23 May 80 AU]

LEADERS RECEIVE MONGOLIAN DELEGATION--Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, on 29 May received the working group of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary, which is visiting our country in order to study the BCP experience in work with the cadres. The Mongolian working group was also received by Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, who spoke on party work in preparing cadres. [AU292035 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 29 May 80]

BULGARIAN-TURKISH CULTURAL AGREEMENT--Sofia, May 29 (BTA)--A 2-year Bulgaro-Turkish programme for scientific and cultural cooperation was signed here today. It provides for exchange of experience and specialists in the field of science, education, culture, medicine, sports and mass media. [Text] [AU292035 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 29 May 80]

GRISHA FILIPOV IN PLEVEN--A new bread-baking plant was commissioned on 29 May in Pleven. The ceremony was attended by Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and Georgi Karamanev, minister of internal trade and public services. [AU291821 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 May 80]

BULGARIAN-JAPANESE ECONOMIC COOPERATION--The newly created joint technical Bulgarian-Japanese bureau on mutual activity in the electronization of the metal cutting machines and robots was opened in Sofia on 29 May. The ceremony was attended by Comrades Ognyan Doynov, Andrey Lukanov, Nacho Papazov, and Ministers Toncho, Chakurov and Vasil Khubchev. [AU291821 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 May 80]

NEWS COOPERATION WITH NICARAGUA--Sofia, May 29 (BTA)--A cooperation agreement was signed here today by the BTA and the "New Nicaragua" News Agency of the Republic of Nicaragua. The two agencies will exchange news material on the internal and foreign policy of the two countries. They will render the necessary assistance to resident and special correspondents of the respective agency in implementing their journalistic tasks. [Text] [AU291925 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 29 May 80]

CSO: 2200

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARIES: GDR CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Protestant Church Reorganization Plans

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 20 May 80 p 4

[Article by Helmut Loelhoeffel, SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG staff, datelined Berlin/GDR, 19 May: "Weaknesses and Strengths of Protestant Diversity; Protestant Churches in the GDR Move Slowly in Their Search for Greater Unity"]

[Text] The situation of the Protestant Church in the GDR is just as obscure as its organization, and it depends on many factors. Still, we may observe and describe four characteristic features. To begin with the relations with the state and its leading party, the SED, have relaxed since the talks between Erich Honecker and the executive of the Protestant Church Federation. As a consequence communists and Christians have learned to live side by side, an arrangement which is now observed by the SED (although it is rather complicated).

Furthermore the social importance of Protestants has increased--not least by the government's confirmation of the church's independence. Though church membership is declining (8 million GDR citizens are Protestants but only every tenth is a churchgoer and only 2 percent are actively involved in parish life), the Church is able to note an influx of young people. The small size of the congregations permits open discussions in which it is possible to escape from ideological stereotypes.

Moreover, the self-assurance of the churches achieved in the struggle against many obstacles has encouraged the bishops and many ministers to proclaim unorthodox and unconventional opinions as well as--from the standpoint of Christianity--publicly to criticize negative decisions made in the GDR. The government tolerates this. However, the government controlled media make no mention of these voices. The ruling communists appraisal of religion has certainly not changed. Nevertheless, says former bishop of Goerlitz Hans-Joachim Frankel, "a greater appreciation of tolerance is definitely noticeable" in the SED.

Against the background of these three elements and after long preparations the eight Protestant Land churches in the GDR are now tackling a structural reorganization. Actually it is the fourth feature of the current development that the member churches are endeavoring to assemble their dispersed forces and avoid squandering their energies in organizational duplication. However, except for the explicit desire for closer collaboration nothing much has happened yet. The reasons are in part theological, but there are also organizational obstacles and some reservations of a political nature.

Similar to conditions in the Federal Republic the Protestant Churches of the GDR have a rather complex structure. Five of the eight independent Land churches are members of the Evangelical Church of the Union (GDR region); the three others represent the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church (VELK) in the GDR. Since 1969 they have all united in the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR--known as the Church Federation. Consequently there are three unions complete with three synods, three executive bodies and three offices, and a closer rapprochement would obviously appear desirable. In 1979, therefore, an agreement was reached in Eisenach if possible, by 1981, to replace the Evangelical Church of the Union (EKU), the VELK and the Church Federation by the "United Evangelical Church in the GDR" with greater authority regarding common tasks. It was planned that this united church should continue to be organized on a federal basis and retain eight Land churches.

With the utmost elan and high hopes a joint preparatory body tackled the implementation of the "Eisenach recommendations." A long period of discussions was followed by the preparation of actual decisions. At this point the GDR churchmen seem to have ceased making progress. In an internal report Christoph Demke, secretary of the preparatory committee, stated "that we are running in place, and actually may be just turning in circles."

The work proceeding toward the unification of the Protestant Churches in the GDR cannot yet be considered a failure. But at this moment it looks as if the result might at best be an "improved Church federation" which--as is cautiously pointed out--could "lend greater density to the church community achieved." All those involved consider it necessary to unite church work generally in a "closer community." No agreement has yet been reached, though, about the shape this is to assume. This dispute emerged again and quite clearly at the recently concluded EKU synod in East Berlin.

The process of gradual integration in a united church would imply that all earlier unions would have to dissolve prior to merging into the new "Federal Church." So far no success has been achieved in so defining the common self-interpretation of Lutherans and members of the United Protestant Church as to retain different versions of the faith. It is not clear yet, for example, what importance is to be assigned the Augsburg creed because the reformed traditions domiciled in the north of the GDR are not to be submerged.

The question also remains how the "special relationship" with the evangelical Christians and churches in the Federal Republic may be preserved. As far

back as 1968 the VELK completely severed its union with the United Evangelical-Lutheran Churches of Germany (VELKD). The EKU in the GDR, on the other hand, adopted an independent organization but made sure that its basic organization continued materially in harmony with that of the EKU in the Federal Republic. Another link was represented by the history of the United Land Church of Berlin-Brandenburg and its independent West Berlin division.

Finally the discussion involves the issue whether it might not actually be an advantage to continue confronting the centralist state by a wide ranging church. Diversity, it is argued, may well turn out to be tantamount with strength.

EKU Synod Meeting

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 May 80 p 6

[Article, datelined Berlin, 19 May (epd): "GDR Union Churches: Yes to Unification; EKU Synod Wants Agreement on Denominational Principles"]

[Text] At its meeting concluded on Sunday, 18 May, in East Berlin the synod of the EKU [Evangelical Church of the Union], GDR region, has in principle agreed to unite in a "United Evangelical Church in the GDR" aspired to by the eight Protestant Land churches. The formal statement, adopted by a large majority of the synod, advocates gradual integration. The condition would be an agreement on the denominational principles of the future church, which should include the denominational interpretations of the Union churches. This involves the equal acceptance of the reformed tradition. The synod thus rejected the definitely Lutheran coloration of the union though, at the same time, stating that the future united church should not merely be an "enlarged EKU." As to the issue of the definite creed, the synod wishes for discussions between the Lutheran Church leadership and the EKU council.

EKU council chairman in the GDR region Natho commented that he considered unrealistic the original time schedule for the union of the three major organizations of the eight Protestant Land churches. At an Eisenach delegate conference in January 1979 a recommendation had been adopted by 1981 to undertake significant steps toward a closer church community. Natho indicated the EKU statute which, despite organizational decentralization, retained the special relationship with the EKU churches in the West. This link had to be maintained.

The synod warned of frivolously "talking ourselves" into the cold war. At the same time it criticized the steady deterioration of communications between the superpowers and stated that Christians could not resign themselves to this situation. They would have to think, work and pray for world peace and fight suspicion and resignation. "We ask our congregations to help spread a climate of confidence which will encourage our community in itself as well as the efforts of statesmen," says the unanimously adopted synod resolution which thanks the "responsible people in both German states" and the

representatives of the churches for "appreciating their duty strenuously to combat the threat to peace and detente."

The synod further criticized the "policy of the balance of terror" and called for an end to the arms race and the "reckless and selfish pursuit of a greater and greater share in prosperity."

GDR Information Practices Criticized

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 17 May 80 p 5

[Article datelined zba Berlin, 16 May: "Information in GDR Denounced;Church President: Complaints Can Be Filed"]

[Text] Church President Eberhard Natho, chairman of the council of the Evangelical Church of the Union (GDR region) has criticized GDR information practices. At the fifth synod of the EKU [Evangelical Church of the Union], the combination of five Land churches of former Prussia, he said that it was necessary to appreciate that "the information practices of our government fall far short of that which we consider desirable." The church president said that confidence in the government would increase considerably if meetings between state and church were reported not only in the form of empty slogans which everybody knows, and which do not really mean anything. Still: The church is now able to file complaints and does so. Natho continued that the church hoped "to conduct toward a definite detente the still unsatisfactory situation in the field of education."

GDR society must learn that Christians are involved in all sectors of life and have their place there with equal obligations, rights and privileges. Natho went on to say that there were further "indications that many responsible men and women in the GDR appreciate that fact and act accordingly--in the schools also."

World developments have imposed a serious burden on people in both German states: To forget about reunification in the foreseeable future "in order to preserve peace." At the same time separation must not imply a lack of relations. Natho welcomed the fact that, despite the worldwide increase in tension, the two German states have given "clear signs" of continuing the pursuit of detente and negotiation.

The synod will tackle, among others, the issue of a united church in the GDR.

Commentary by Klaus Gysi

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 14 May 80 p 2

[Article datelined Berlin (dpa): "Gysi: GDR Cannot Accept the Church as a 'Critical Corrective'; At the Same Time East Berlin Sees an 'Increasingly Constructive' Relationship"]

[Text] Though, from the standpoint of the GDR Government, the relationship of state and church is "increasingly constructive," Klaus Gysi, GDR state secretary for church affairs, is unable to accept the church as a "critical corrective" within state and society. Gysi spoke on this topic in an interview with the ARD television service, which was broadcast on Tuesday evening last.

Gysi took over his office 6 months ago, following the death of Hans Seigewasser. He predicted a long-term cohabitation of state and church. Political measures and church statements in the GDR showed that "long-term cohabitation" and cooperation with Christian citizens is expected. Asked by East Berlin ARD correspondent Lutz Lehmann whether, in accordance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the church in the GDR would have to wither away, the state secretary replied: "This question is not at issue, and we are not posing it at all. In a manner of speaking it is ahistoric."

On the Situation of Christian Students

Reminded of problems experienced by GDR Christians in the educational system and "communist education," Gysi, former minister for culture and GDR ambassador to Rome, considered these "exceptional instances." They tended to occur "in every state, any society anywhere in the world." According to the state secretary all bishops in the GDR had confirmed that, to the best of their knowledge, the situation of Christian students had not worsened.

Catholic Bishoprics

On the topic of the establishment of independent bishoprics by the Catholic Church the state secretary said that this was not "a matter of prestige." "We are calmly awaiting developments." Gysi disputed that Christians in the GDR have difficulty in rising to senior positions. There were hundreds of Christian medical directors in the GDR, and not only in Christian facilities. There were also state ministers, mayors and "thousands of representatives."

Concerning the question why church criticism, for example on the issue of the penal code, was never reported in GDR official organs, Gysi replied that the media tend in all matters "to emphasize common ground instead of divisive problems." Peripheral issues were not blown up. Moreover, the church had its own press organs. On the cooperation between state and church in the field of charities the state secretary opined that "as far as possible" the only sensible trend here would be for "expanding and extending the common ground."

Church's Responsibility for Peace

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV in German Vol 13 No 4, Apr 80 signed to press 21 Mar 80 pp 350-352

[Article by Gisela Helwig, member of DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV editorial staff: "The Church's Responsibility for Peace"]

[Text] Responsible politicians in the GDR are prepared to respect the identity of the churches and meet their concerns "constructively and with understanding." They record their interest in relations based on confidence and in appropriate settlements.[1] These words confirm the spirit of the talk between SED General Secretary Erich Honecker and the Protestant Church leadership of 5 March 1978.[2] They appear in the report by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on the first public appearance of Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, who--last November, succeeded deceased Hans Seigewasser. In his talks with the Thuringia Church leadership Gysi appreciated the commitment to peace of the Protestant Churches in the GDR and, notably, emphasized the independence and distinctive features of the church contribution to peace. This was the first time a representative of the state publicly acknowledged the statement issued in early February last by the GDR Church Federation on the current world situation.[3] Without mentioning the implied criticism of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, the state secretary emphasized that the government was in agreement with the church proposals. Military perils must be countered by political settlements. Thuringia Land Bishop Leich followed up by warning that the responsible statesmen should not increase tension by breaking off contacts but instead improve the atmosphere by talks. Leich added imploringly: "There is absolutely no condition more important for the maintenance of peace than peace itself. Anyone weighing the consequences of a war and keeping in view the threat to mankind must arrive at one verdict only: Peace must be maintained in any circumstances and conditions."[4]

The Church Federation had submitted its statement in Budapest last January, at a conference of church representatives from the socialist countries and the World Council of Churches. It had been unanimously approved. Soon after the World Council of Churches responded to the appeal made to it and called upon all members for resolute efforts for peace and joint consultation. It did so in a statement published after the annual general meeting of its executive committee.[5] In this statement the committee expressed its "profound concern" about the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the NATO rearmament decision. In its reports the GDR press stressed only the second aspect and suppressed mention of the fact that representatives from the churches of the Soviet Union and the GDR were among those members of the executive committee who had criticized the intervention in Afghanistan.[6]

Once more, therefore, the Protestant Church in the GDR proved that it is capable of speaking its mind consistently, without polemic and without waiting for applause from one or the other side, simply accepting the "special responsibility" arising from Germany's location "on the borders of the two

world systems."[7] Appropriate to its task it does not confine itself to public statements but includes concern for world peace in everyday church events. Outstanding importance in this connection is due the letter of Magdeburg Bishop Werner Krusche to the ministers of Saxony Church Province: "In prayerful service to world peace" the parishes must appreciate "that at this point in time we must omit anything which might exacerbate and inflame the situation; that it is imperative to support those who even now consider meetings and talks better than revenge and the breaking-off of contacts; that we must trust the cool heads rather than those who incite to hatred."[8]

In recent months East Berlin Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr, chairman of the Church Federation, has also spoken out repeatedly in regard to the churches duty in the present situation. In an interview with the radio station "Free Berlin" he emphasized the "special responsibility of Germans," saying that it did not matter "whether they are (living) in one or two states."

"I believe that we must do our utmost. We must develop the consciousness that this peace must be maintained at any price, that tempers must be calmed not inflamed, and that, together, we must tackle the issues, not resentfully or emotionally but with cool heads and commonsense."[9]

Schoenherr affirmed that his brethren in office in the Federal Republic were of a similar frame of mind and, in this connection, pointed out the results of the KD [Evangelical Church in Germany] synod in Garmisch-Partenkirchen. There the END council had been asked at a "demonstration for assuring peace" to continue talks with the GDR Church Federation, further to advance the work for peace in ecumenical gatherings, and to encourage politicians in East and West to maintain consultations at all levels. It was imperative to work for a peaceful order where conflicts between countries would be resolved without recourse to military threats or the use of force.[10]

Young Christians in both German states also see a particular obligation for increased cooperation in view of the danger to detente. The report by a delegation of young Church workers from the GDR on their visit to the Federal Republic in February last says that "precisely in the current world situation" contacts in the sphere of work with church youth were of the utmost importance. The meeting resulted from an invitation by the West German study group of Evangelical youth. It focused on a seminar on the topic "education in faith--the social context and the self-understanding of workers involved in Evangelical youth work." The participants emphasized that the intensive discussions had resulted in "the improved appreciation of the various situations and conditions." "Responsibility for the security of peace" was stressed as an important common task. Efforts for better understanding must continue with even greater emphasis, and future reciprocal visits are to help here. Planned as the next joint event is a seminar on topical ecumenical issues.[11]

An outstanding example of ecumenical attitudes in the GDR is provided by the action "Signs of Atonement." This is a division of the charitable work of the Protestant churches. In 1980 it is organizing 34 work camps which will operate during the summer in Protestant and Catholic parishes, on the site of the former Buchenwald concentration camp and the Jewish cemetery in East Berlin.[12] Christian youths of various denominations assemble for 2 weeks to live and work together--a practical education for peace.

FOOTNOTES

1. See NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 February 1980.
2. See the articles by Helwig and Roeder, DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV No 4/1978, pp 351 ff.
3. Complete text in this issue, p 441.
4. Quoted from LUTHERISCHE WELT-INFORMATION No 9/1980, p 17.
5. See LUTHERISCHE WELT-INFORMATION No 7/1980, p 16.
6. See NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and NEUE ZEIT, 20 February 1980.
7. For example see the "Word on Peace," the joint declaration of the Evangelical Churches in the two German states on the 40th anniversary of the start of World War II, reprinted in DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV No 10/1979, pp 115 ff.
8. Complete text in this issue, p 443.
9. Quoted from EVANGELISCHE INFORMATION No 8/1980, p 9.
10. See EVANGELISCHE INFORMATION No 6/1980, p 2.
11. See EVANGELISCHE INFORMATION No 9/1980, p 4.
12. See EVANGELISCHE INFORMATION No 8/1980, p 9.

New Catholic Bishop of Berlin

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 13 May 80 p 12

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin, 12 May: "The Unity of the Berlin Diocese; Bishop Meisner Takes Over His Post as Bishop of Catholics in West Berlin, East Berlin, and the GDR"]

[Text] Friday next the new Catholic bishop of Berlin, former Erfurt Suffragan Joachim Meisner, will submit to the Chapter of St Hedwig Cathedral, the

seat of the bishopric of Berlin in East Berlin, the papal document of appointment and thus take charge of his diocese which now includes 268,000 faithful in West Berlin, 61,000 in East Berlin and 103,000 in the GDR. The cathedral chapter has four West Berlin members, including the cathedral dean, two East Berliners, including the suffragan, and a nonresident member of the cathedral chapter, from Demmin in the GDR Bezirk Neubrandenburg.

This canonical act--ending the administration of the diocese by the chapter vicar Suffragan Kleineidam, initiated after the death of Cardinal Bengsch--will take place in private. The public, however, is invited to join in the following day's celebration of a "Pontifical High Mass upon the assumption of office" of the newly appointed bishop in St Hedwig Cathedral in East Berlin. In former times this ceremony was called enthronement.

This is the first enthronement of a bishop of Berlin in St Hedwig Cathedral since, on 31 August 1935, the third bishop of Berlin, Konrad Graf von Preysing, was installed in office here. Preysing was also the first bishop of Berlin to receive a cardinal's hat from Pope Pius XII. On 2 March 1943 the cathedral of the Berlin bishopric was destroyed in an air attack. Not until 1 November 1963 was Archbishop Alfred Bengsch--elevated to the rank of cardinal by Pope Paul VI in 1967--able to celebrate the dedication of the high altar in the reconstructed St Hedwig Cathedral. Bengsch was appointed bishop of Berlin on 16 August 1961, 3 days after the construction of the Berlin Wall. He was actually enthroned twice: On 19 September in East Berlin's Corpus Christi Church and on 21 September in West Berlin's St Matthew Church. Now that St Hedwig Cathedral stands again and the Berlin Wall, though not removed, allows the passage of West Berliners in accordance with the Four-Power Agreement, a double enthronement is no longer on the cards for the bishop of the undivided Berlin see. Though, on 18 May, Bishop Meisner will visit West Berlin for the first time and celebrate Pontifical High Mass on the occasion of his accession, there will be only one enthronement, on 17 May, in East Berlin's St Hedwig Cathedral.

"Keep up the unity of the diocese,"--that was the message left behind by Cardinal Bengsch who died in December last. On 17 May the Pontifical High Mass coupled with the celebration of his successor's installation in St Hedwig Cathedral will bring evidence of the unity of the bishopric. This unity is--and not least in the person of the bishop--the unifying factor of German catholicism. Present will not only be bishops, apostolic administrators and suffragans from the GDR who are members of the Berlin Conference of Bishops. From the Federal Republic will come bishops and suffragans also to attend the ceremony, including the representative of the chairman of the German Conference of Bishops, of which the bishop of Berlin is also a member. Protestants from East and West will be represented and, in addition to the Bavarian Minister for Church Affairs Maier, president of the Central Committee of German Catholics, Berlin CDU politician von Weizsaecker will probably attend in his capacity as president of the German Evangelical Church Congress and member of the Council of the Evangelical Church of Germany.

Allies in the Cathedral

The GDR Government will be represented at least by State Secretary for Church Affairs Gysi, and the East Berlin municipal council will also send delegates. Expected in St Hedwig Cathedral from the Western section of the diocese are representatives of the Allied Command and the Berlin Senate. The three Western allies have a keen sense for keeping visible the four-power status of Berlin in the daily life of the city; they will certainly not allow this special occasion to pass unnoticed. In May the Americans handle all Allied Command business, the American city commander is the presiding commander. It would be a wise gesture for him, accompanied by his staff, to attend the enthronement of the new bishop of Berlin in East Berlin. That is not to say that the French and British protecting powers should not send senior officers also. When West Berlin Protestant Bishop Kruse was inaugurated in January 1977, the Berlin Senate was represented by then governing mayor Schuetz in Kaiser-Wilhelm Memorial Church. We must hope that, at the inauguration of the Catholic bishop of Berlin the Berlin Senate will not be represented in St Hedwig Cathedral only by a senator but also by governing mayor Stobbe. So far Stobbe, in his capacity as governing mayor, visited the Eastern part of the city only when meeting with Soviet Ambassador Abrasimov. On the present occasion he will hardly have an opportunity to talk to representatives from the eastern part of the city, because there will be no official reception after the Pontifical high Mass and the solemn inauguration in the cathedral. Nevertheless, Stobbe ought to go and, together with State Secretary Gaus, head of the permanent delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany in East Berlin, attend the church ceremony.

Died down by now in East and West seems to have the surprise about the appointment as seventh bishop of Berlin of former suffragan of the apostolic administrator in Erfurt and Meiningen Meisner (46). The speculation is gaining ground that Pope John Paul II personally took this decision, possibly independent of the suggestions offered by the cathedral chapter. Bishop Meisner, consecrated in the cathedral of Erfurt on 17 May 1975 by his mentor, apostolic administrator in Erfurt and Meiningen Bishop Aufderbeck (71), aroused the attention of the present Pope soon after and was remembered by him. In September 1975 then Cardinal Wojtyla of Cracow attended the fall pilgrimage in Erfurt of Thuringia and Eichsfeld Catholics. In the course of the service on the occasion of the pilgrimage, held on the steps of Erfurt Cathedral, Suffragan Meisner preached a sermon on the watchword of the pilgrimage "Renew spiritually--change the world." This sermon dealt with the concept of reconciliation, and the bishop said: "Let us take heart, create something new, discover something of what the Holy Spirit is doing... He who loves even if not loved himself will at last make something new grow on earth. Then the face of the earth will renew itself."

You Can Call on Me at Any Time

Later, in December 1976, the members of the Berlin Conference of Bishops in the GDR elected Suffragan Meisner their representative at the fourth Roman

Bishops Synod which was held at the Vatican in September 1977. There Meisner again met with the Cracow cardinal. The PETRUSBLATT, the Catholic Church journal of the Berlin diocese issued in West Berlin, reported that Wojtyla--apparently after a talk with Bishop Meisner--approached the young bishop and told him that he vividly recalled the fall pilgrimage in Erfurt and the excellent sermon Meisner had preached. To the suffragan's surprise the present Pope even repeated the headings of his sermon. Cardinal Wojtyla is said to have told Bishop Meisner:"You are young and in Rome for the first time. You can call one me at any time."

Bishop Meisner is not the first bishop appointed by Pope John Paul II to owe his appointment to the personal affection and friendship of the Pope from Poland. As bishop of Berlin he is bound to remember this offer. The strong support of Rome is needed by anyone who intends to maintain the unity of the Berlin diocese and devote himself to the unity of Catholics in divided Germany. The new man on the Berlin bishop's throne will--just as his predecessors--often have to call on the Holy See. It is good to know that the Pope himself will listen.

SED in Relation to Church

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 16 Apr 80 p 4

[Article by Hans-Juergen Roeder (epd): "The SED's Anxiety over Opposition in the Church"]

[Text] The SED's suspicions of contacts between non-Christian, even Marxist, artists, writers and scientists on the one hand and parishes or parish groups of the Protestant Church in the GDR on the other are as long-standing as the state which the party rules. At the same time, no later than the spectacular revelations by songwriter Wolf Biermann on his appearance in Prenzlau's Nicolai Church in the summer of 1976 did it get known that such contacts in fact exist. However, as yet no public discussion let alone report of such a happening is possible in the GDR.

In recent days the Protestant Church leadership in East Berlin has defied this taboo. Its report to the synod of the eastern district of the Berlin-Brandenburg Church emphasized that it considered meaningful the participation of non-Christian artists and scientists in divine service. This dictum is explained by the assertion that these peoples contributions "which reflect wisdom, lamentation and hope" may help to make the aims of the Christian divine service comprehensible within the given situation."

The reason for suspicion is likely to be found in the anxiety that something like an assembly of opposing forces within the GDR society might occur under the auspices of the church. On the other hand the 30 years of experience with these contacts should suffice to recognize the real intention: The spiritual wrestling with the vital issues of society and the possibility jointly to cope with the vital problems of the individual Christian and non-

Christian in the GDR. Actually these are efforts which, in the final analysis, benefit GDR society as a whole.

Neither East nor West suffer any lack of issues or problems of this nature. This was stressed at the synod conference in East Berlin by Bishop Schoenherr whose lecture called, among others, on the Church to pronounce "on the responsibility of man for the creation, the environment and the future." The bishop stated: "We must dare to speak out on marriage, on sexual behavior, the work ethic and the concept of performance." In another context he said: "Many now refuse to seek the meaning of their lives in just earning more money and being able to indulge all their whims. They are ready, if need be, to make sacrifices. But they insist on knowing why and for what purpose."

These problems are not alien to the SED either, and this is demonstrated in the cautious discussion in GDR political media. Regarding the issue of peace the SED has lately welcomed--not merely permitted--the Church's pronouncement of its independent commitment. More time is obviously needed for the appreciation to gain ground that the independent and frank discussion of the issues mentioned earlier--even beyond ideological barriers--benefits the SED's own efforts and the people of the GDR.

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MOZAMBIQUE'S SOCIALIST ORIENTATION, RELATIONS WITH GDR ANALYZED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 25 No 5, May 80 signed to press 28 Mar 80 pp 71-85

[Article by Prof Guenther Thole, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence: "Problems of Socialist Orientation in Africa: People's Republic of Mozambique"]

[Text] In 1979, party and state delegations led by Erich Honecker visited the African states of Libya, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and Ethiopia. These visits ushered in a new phase of traditional relations, which in many cases -- as with Angola and Mozambique -- had existed long before political independence had been attained through the liberation movements.

"Our German Democratic Republic has always stood at the side of the national liberation movements on the African continent. Now it is developing fraternal relations of new dimensions and a new quality, especially with the progressive states of a socialist orientation."[1]

An expression of this new quality of relations is the conclusion of treaties of friendship and cooperation with Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia. These agreements delineate a framework for stable and long-range ties for the years ahead. Political bases for the treaties are the far-reaching concurrence of views by the treaty states on the character of our epoch, the main impulses favoring further change in the international power relationship and a recognition of scientific socialism as a theoretical, political and ideological basis for change in social life and the way it functions.

The leaders of the African partners to the treaty see in Marxism-Leninism a foundation for the activity of new or emerging avant-garde parties as a leading force. They view the community of socialist states as their natural ally and are developing a variety of intensive ties with these states. Together with other socialist states, the GDR was among the first with which diplomatic relations were established and the first international agreements concluded. Lending a new quality to traditional ties to FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] in Mozambique and the MPLA

[Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] in Angola were the relations between governments that followed national autonomy for Mozambique and Angola. Economic links were established from the very outset and have been expanding more and more over the years. The agreements covering economic, scientific-technical and other areas are based on equality and mutual benefit. They differ in quality from the relations African states enjoy with imperialist countries and are directed chiefly toward gaining economic independence for the peoples of Africa.

The new quality of relations is expressed in the party links that are constantly evolving between the SED and the avant-garde parties that are new (Angola and Mozambique) or emerging (Ethiopia). The expansion of ties with the leading parties in these states will increasingly become the basis for all-round relations. At the behest of these progressive parties, the SED has been and is now helping with their formation, particularly by passing on experiences and providing support in the training of cadre for the new parties.

Qualitative advances have been made in relations between the GDR and progressive African states in just a few years. In their way, they reflect the great historical changes that have taken place in Africa over the past two decades. Indeed, there were only a few autonomous states prior to 1960. That year was an important milestone in the lives of the African nations, since 17 new states emerged as a result of the anticolonial struggle. Today, 20 years after the "year of Africa," the fight for national independence has entered its final historical phase. At issue is the liquidation of the racist regime in South Africa. The people of Zimbabwe won a great victory in late February 1980 and crowned their struggle of many years against the racist regime by establishing an autonomous state on 18 April, thus ending political repression of the vast majority of the people.

The establishment of an autonomous state in Namibia and eradication of the apartheid policy in the Republic of South Africa are the order of the day. The racists in power, supported by the imperialist powers, are attempting to slow this inevitable process by force and guide it into channels acceptable to them. The events in Zimbabwe will lend renewed impetus to the struggle in Namibia and in the principal bastion of racism, the Republic of South Africa. It will further weaken the already unsteady power of the racists.

Socialist Orientation -- Something Qualitatively New in Africa

Events in Africa are in many respects being determined by the popular struggle to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism and to safeguard the national autonomy that has been achieved, as well as by the struggle for economic independence. Something qualitiatively new in the lives of the African peoples is the progressive socialist orientation adopted by some states. They have discovered that without profound social changes

they will not be truly free and will continue to be bled by imperialism abroad and exploitation at home.

"We have perceived that there have been more changes in the lives of these people in the short time since the start of the revolutions than in the thousands of years that preceded them.... At the same time, it is obvious that national independence leads to a decent existence only if it is linked with liberation from imperialistic exploitation."[2]

Today the peoples of Africa are able to follow this path to new shores, to a decent existence, because there have been fundamental changes in international conditions and because imperialism no longer reigns absolute in the world. In his contribution to the discussion at the 25th CPSU Party Congress, Fidel Castro paid tribute to the role of the USSR in making a reality of the right to self-determination for the peoples formerly oppressed by colonialism:

"In view of the shortage of raw materials sources and the energy crisis, the capitalist powers would not hesitate to begin anew to divide up the world if there were no Soviet Union. Without the Soviet Union, even the measure of independence enjoyed by the small states today would be inconceivable, as would a successful struggle by the people to regain their right to control over their own natural resources. Also unimaginable would be the fact that today their voices carry weight in the great forum of the nations."[3]

This struggle to realize the right of self-determination in all areas of life is complicated because the young states are still firmly integrated in the capitalist world market. R. Ulyanovski made the following remarks in this context:

"For a number of reasons the aforementioned countries" (meaning those of a socialist orientation) "are not in a position to put an end to their dependence on world capitalism since their economies, now as well as in the colonialist period, are largely of a dependent and peripheral nature. Despite the solidity of economic relations with the socialist states -- relations that are being used as a lever in the struggle to correct relationships with the capitalist world -- the countries with socialist leanings still have firm economic ties to the capitalist world market and in some cases (monocultures) are not to be separated from it."[4]

The one-sided economic orientation of the colonies toward the interests of the colonial powers that developed during the time of colonial domination cannot be eradicated by political revolt, a law or any other single act. A number of steps are required to gain economic independence from imperialism. Economic dependence and backwardness have characterized the economies of the states that emerged from the anticolonial struggle. The political, ideological, social and economic levels of development may differ, but in general the majority of the people in those states which are

following the path of the socialist orientation are farmers. Thus, a long struggle must be waged against socioeconomic backwardness. In the process of this struggle, changes are taking place in the class power structure. A great deal depends upon whether the working class develops into the leading force, whether it is able to rally the masses around it and form an alliance of the different class forces in accordance with specific conditions. This requires conscious action on the part of avant-garde parties that have already formed in several African states of a socialist orientation, or are in the process of formation:

"The leading role of the working class has been proclaimed in Angola, Afghanistan, Mozambique, the People's Republic of Yemen, Ethiopia and some other countries, and the ruling parties in these countries have been proclaiming scientific socialism as their ideology. This move is doubtless positive in nature even though, in view of the small numbers of the proletariat in these countries, it is more likely to be of political significance and points more to a possibility for the near future than to a firm reality."[5]

In light of the complex internal and external conditions, a lengthy period of radical reforms will be necessary. A methodical policy and extensive organizational work will also be required if the objective and subjective preconditions for the transition to the socialist revolution are to be established. Ulyanovski therefore stresses the relatively separate, longer-lasting phase of preparation for the socialist revolution. At the same time he pays tribute to the heroic action of the revolutionary forces.

The example of the People's Republic of Mozambique, founded on 25 June 1975, will serve to illustrate the present status of conditions favoring revolutionary changes and the problems that are yet to be solved. The equal rights that characterize relations between Mozambique and the GDR will be used to show the importance of relations between the young states of a socialist orientation and the states of the socialist community.

Underdevelopment and Dependence -- Legacy of the Colonial Period

Mozambique, a country with an area of 784,032 square kilometers and more than 11 million inhabitants, has already carried out some radical and effective revolutionary reforms on its path to socialism, particularly in its superstructure. The underdevelopment and dependence attributable to 500 years of colonialism is to be eliminated through well-planned measures within a relatively brief period in terms of its history.

At the end of the colonial period, Mozambique was an underdeveloped agricultural country with the beginnings of a processing industry. Very little had been done in the way of exploration of mineral wealth. Only 10 percent of its area was used for agricultural purposes, although 80 percent of the population earned their living in agriculture. Half of the agricultural land was used for subsistence farming, or low productivity farming done

only to support families. A total of 35 percent of those working in agriculture were not involved in commodity/cash dealings at all or only on a very irregular basis. Plantation companies and Portuguese settlers controlled the best land. Under the 1961 Land Law, natives of the country had no legal rights to their own land and could be turned out at any time in the interest of plantation owners or settlers. Capitalist farming operations located south of the Zambesi /River/ were primarily in the hands of the Portuguese, while subsistence farmers had been driven to South Africa by poverty and the necessity of working for wages. No better was the situation of the farmers who were forced to cultivate cotton in the northern provinces, thus reducing the area for food crops.

Shortly before FRELIMO assumed power, a mass exodus of settlers took place accompanied by many different acts of sabotage. Despite immediate measures, FRELIMO was unable to prevent a decline in production, mainly because of a shortage of cadre.

Most of the country's industrial capacity was not developed until after 1960. When restrictions on foreign capital investments were lifted in 1965, South African, French and other monopolies invested there. At the end of the colonial period, the processing of agricultural raw materials accounted for about 35 percent of total industrial production (sugar, cotton, edible oils, cashew nuts). A part of industry was producing for consumption by the Portuguese bourgeoisie in Mozambique and/or for the tourist industry (beverages, cigarettes, textiles, clothing and cement). According to figures from the colonial period, Mozambique had 1,600 industrial enterprises, but the majority are more or less handicraft shops; only about 400 establishments can be considered industrial enterprises. Industry was dependent upon South Africa in many respects. Raw materials that had nothing to do with the processing of agricultural products had to be imported. At the same time, industry depended upon sales markets abroad.

The subordination of Mozambique's economy to the interests of the colonial power was also evident in the foreign trade structure, with prices determined by Portugal. Thus, Mozambique received lower rates for cotton and sugar than were paid on the world market. In 1973, three products accounted for more than 50 percent of the value of exports: cashew nuts, cotton and sugar. By region, more than 35 percent of the exports went to Portugal, more than 14 percent to the United States and nearly 10 percent to South Africa. South Africa dominated the import picture with more than 20 percent, followed by Portugal with more than 19 percent and the FRG with more than 13 percent.

Main sources of income for the Portuguese colonial power lay in supplying cheap African labor as well as in transit and seaport transshipment services for the Republic of South Africa and for Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). During the last century, migrant workers were already going from Mozambique to South Africa. The year 1896 saw the conclusion of the

first treaty between Portugal and South Africa on recruiting labor for the gold and coal mines in Transvaal (province bordering on Mozambique). The agreement was renewed in 1928, and Mozambique provided an average of more than 25 percent of the black mine workers in the Republic of South Africa until the beginning of the 1970's. According to South African estimates, they numbered up to 220,000 workers per year.[6]

The services function performed by the former Portuguese colony is also clearly reflected in the railway network and the ports. The railroads lead from the ports of Maputo, Beira and Nacala to South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Swaziland and Malawi. There is no north-south line in the elongated country. The ports are largely used for transshipment operations for neighboring countries. In 1973, Maputo transshipped around 14 million tons, Beira about 3 million tons and Nacala about 800,000 tons. South Africa's share of the port of Maputo's turnover was 40 percent; Southern Rhodesia's shares were 15 percent in Maputo and 40 percent in Beira.

Establishment of New Power Apparatus

An important feature of the political situation at the time Mozambique gained national autonomy was the existence of a unified liberation organization that had proven itself in years of armed struggle, the Frente da Libertacao de Mocambique (FRELIMO), which, as a representative of the people, established an independent state. FRELIMO's orientation was not that of replacing the colonial exploiters with other exploiters, but of eliminating once and for all the exploitation of people by other people in Mozambique. This political decision regarding the future course had already been made during the struggle for liberation and had been put into practice in the liberated regions. The independent state pursued a socialist orientation from the very outset.

The resolutions passed by the Third FRELIMO Congress in February 1976 specified the character of the state as follows:

"The People's Republic of Mozambique is a state of the democratic revolutionary dictatorship of workers and farmers. It exercises its power against the enemies of the people, the capitalists, against imperialism and its agents and in the interest of developing and defending its revolutionary achievements as well as its sovereignty and territorial integrity."[7]

The principal objectives of the popular democratic revolution are those of constantly reinforcing national independence, strengthening the government structure and consolidating and developing the national economy, with the aim of establishing the political, ideological and material bases of socialism.[8]

The Third FRELIMO Congress resolved to establish an avant-garde party based on the liberation organization, one that would retain the name

FRELIMO. The new party (members were accepted and party cells and district and provincial organizations established mainly in 1978) defines itself as a vanguard party of the worker and farmer alliance.

"Led by the working class, FRELIMO unites in a voluntary and militant alliance based on scientific socialism the workers, the farmers, the soldiers, the revolutionary intellectuals and other working people who were shaped and tempered in the struggle against the exploitation of man by man and for victory in the interests of the people."[9]

The requirements are high for acceptance as a member of this party. An appeal was made to the public to participate actively in building it. Candidates presented themselves at meetings in enterprises and housing areas, and the people questioned them to determine whether these candidates enjoyed their confidence. Some of them were rejected, mainly because of alcoholism, corruption and similar reasons. Given the conditions that exist in Mozambique, even though the party makes the decision on accepting candidates, this form of public examination represents an important means of locating those citizens who have the confidence of the people and consequently are recognized as the best. Those party members who do not know how to read or write consider it their most immediate task to become literate. One of the difficult problems in forming the party at all levels lies in this very fact -- that, given the widespread illiteracy inherited from the colonial period, many members of the party are still illiterate.

Mass organizations, particularly the organizations for women and young people, are also playing an important role in activating the masses and educating them politically. Preparations are being made via enterprise production councils for the founding of trade unions.

Of fundamental importance was the development of a new, uniform government structure at all levels. Deputies (more than 26,000 of them) were elected for the first time in the history of Mozambique. The election campaign was a prodigious political mobilization of the public. In 1978, resolutions passed by the Permanent Commission of the Supreme People's Assembly regulated the status of the Council of Ministers and provided for the formation of provincial governments in all 10 provinces as well as the establishment of executive councils in the districts (which correspond to the kreises in the GDR). Up to that time, in addition to the governor the provinces had only a few FRELIMO cadre who served as his advisers. These measures went a long way toward safeguarding the revolutionary gains, since the old retrograde and reactionary administration placed obstacles in the way of broad participation by the masses.[10]

The elections held in late 1977 and the establishment of executive organs in 1978 made the work of the government and management of the economy more efficient. Nevertheless, the shortage of cadre permits only a gradual building of these legislated organs, and the deputies are gradually gaining an understanding of their duties and learning to perform their functions.

In defense of the gains made in the struggle for liberation, it was resolved to build up a people's army and to convert the liberation army into a regular, well-trained and -armed army and to introduce conscription. The first officers' academy has been opened and is training the leadership cadre for this army. "Vigilance groups" have been formed as a means of strengthening the government structure and combatting sabotage and other attempts at disruption.

The establishment of a revolutionary and democratic government structure, a party which lets itself be guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the formation of mass organizations were and are the decisive political conditions for accomplishing difficult tasks leading to a new society, a society free of exploitation.

Social and Economic Reforms and the Establishment of a National Economy

Social and economic changes began immediately after governmental autonomy was won. The first resolutions on nationalization were published on 24 July 1975, and this day is celebrated each year as a "Day of Nationalisations." The land was nationalized, a state school system was established to replace the former one that had been mainly in the hands of the church, the health system was placed in the service of the people and all apartment buildings in the cities were nationalized. These were important steps that were taken to preclude speculation in land, health services and housing and to eliminate the educational privilege reserved for the colonial masters and collaborating segments of the population.

Step by step, other sectors of the economy were either nationalized or placed under government trusteeship, particularly industry. Trusteeship was applied above all in cases where property owners had left Mozambique after independence had been won or, as was the case with the majority of the banks, large debts were owed to foreign countries, debts which the young popular government would not assume. Worker commissions are responsible for management, and production by these enterprises is specified by the state plan. Although these trustee enterprises do not legally belong to the state, they constitute an essential base for the economy as controlled and managed by the plan.

There are also private enterprises with state participation which similarly produce for national interests. The nationalized enterprises as well as those which operate under state trusteeship and with state participation are an important basis for production according to plan.

Belonging to these sectors are such important enterprises as the petroleum refinery near Maputo, the "Cifel" metallurgical plant, the sugar factories, textile enterprises, energy production, coal mines, banks, insurance companies, railroads, post and telecommunications systems and foreign trade. It is evident that in the first 4 years of its existence the state has placed the key branches of industry under its control.

The building of a national economy requires fundamental changes to overcome a colonial heritage and dependent position. The initial situation must of course be taken into account. It makes a lengthy process unavoidable. Thanks to sensible measures and the great initiative of the workers and farmers, the country was able -- though with temporarily declining production -- to keep the economy on course even though more than 90 percent of the predominantly Portuguese skilled workers had left the country.

The Third FRELIMO Congress issued the directives for economic and social development. FRELIMO set a goal of returning by 1980 to the level of production achieved in 1973, the last year of colonial domination and the best year in terms of production. This goal is essentially being attained -- and surpassed in some areas. A number of enterprises have been reopened over the past 2 years. Mozambique is producing furniture; saw mills are operating once again; rollers are being manufactured for the sugar factories; an automobile tire plant has begun production of the urgently needed tires for trucks, buses, tractors, agricultural machinery, cars and bicycles. Simple agricultural implements and machinery are being built to meet the needs of cooperatives and farmers. Textile factories are producing yard goods for the domestic market. The production profile of some plants is being altered in order to manufacture urgently needed goods such as water buckets and bicycles.

The Cahora Bassa power plant began supplying the Republic of South Africa with electric power in 1977. Construction of the power plant (including the dam) was begun during the colonial period, with the final stage of the plant beginning operations in 1979. The plant now has an output of 1,920 megawatts. One turbine in Cahora Bassa produces more electric power than all the other installations in Mozambique. It is characteristic of colonial policy that deliveries of electric current were scheduled only for South Africa and the foreign capital at work there. For that reason there is presently only a single 1,400-km line to Transvaal; Maputo, the capital of the People's Republic of Mozambique, can draw electric power from Cahora Bassa only by way of the Republic of South Africa. Not until sometime in 1980 will a 140-km line be completed to the nearby provincial capital of Tete; the coal center of Moatize will connect with this line.[11]

During the initial years, the essential tasks for strategically important enterprises were specified in a central production program. Among these were the electricity companies, the coal mines, a machinery factory and cement production. Private companies in these sectors were called upon to reach the targeted production figures. In cases of obvious sabotage -- as with coal production, the machinery factory and the largest sugar factory -- the state stepped in and placed these enterprises under state management or nationalized them.

Today the state is able to plan essential industrial production either on the basis of state ownership or in the form of state-controlled enterprises and also has under its control an important share of agricultural

market production in the form of state farms. The first 2-year plan has been drafted and approved for 1979-1980. A long-range program has been developed for the years up to 1990. The 1981-1985 plan will be based on this fundamental orientation. President Samora Machel has said that Mozambique must have a developed industry with a functioning industrial base and a relatively mechanized agriculture by 1990. Problems of supply and clothing must be solved, and unemployment, illiteracy and disease must be overcome. The decade will have to be one of radical reform.[12]

The decision was made at the Third FRELIMO Congress and reaffirmed in subsequent deliberations that agriculture constitutes the basis for development and that industry is the dynamic factor, with heavy industry playing the decisive role. Agriculture is to be developed chiefly through two large and comprehensive programs in the Limpopo and Incomati river valleys as well as the Angonia project.[13]

State farms or cooperatives were formed on plantations abandoned by their owners. Today they constitute an essential element of the social sector of production. In 1977, state farms accounted for about 70 percent of the agricultural land that formerly was in the hands of settlers or owners of large plantations. The state farms are thus working about 35 percent of all the agricultural land. These farms constitute an essential base for market production and export.

The cooperatives, which initially were also established on abandoned farmland but also in village communes, will have an important function to fulfill in the future. According to published figures, at the beginning of 1978 there were 169 agricultural producer cooperatives with nearly 10,000 hectares of agricultural land and more than 15,500 members.[14]

President Samora Machel said at the closing session of a meeting with central and provincial management organs on the country's economic situation:

"The state and the central organs of the state must provide the cooperatives with scientific-technical aid that includes the support of internationalist solidarity... . We cannot assist all cooperatives at the same time, but we can select one or two cooperatives in each province, and thereafter in each district, and help them make themselves into models which will serve as teaching and learning bases for the new cooperatives."[15]

Village communes play an important role in political life and in production. The traditional way of life, with its "scattered settlements," does not permit changes in rural life. The communal villages (aldeias comunais) constitute a basis for the administrative-economic organization of rural areas as well as for collective production at the same time. The colonization of 50 or more families, the establishment of schools, medical centers, consumer cooperatives, cultural centers and other facilities can substantially enliven rural political activity. The people work on state farms,

found producer cooperatives or even cultivate specific areas for their own use in the traditional manner. In some instances the first step is to plant fields jointly and later on build residential and community structures.

According to Job Chambal, national director for village communes, as of mid-1979 there were about 1,000 such communes with more than 100,000 families. The degree of stability of these villages varies. Their number is higher in the Limpopo and Zambesi valleys and the provinces that were liberated prior to independence than in other regions. After the major floods of 1977 and 1978 in the aforementioned river valleys, many people resettled in communes on higher ground. Integration is voluntary, and there are many levels of development of these settlements and of collective production. Not every communal village has a cooperative, although collective production represents an essential base on which these villages flourish. As Job Chambal noted, about 500 of the villages can be considered solid, successful, stable institutions that stand on their own feet economically.[16]

Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of Mozambique and Relations with the GDR

The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Mozambique follows the consistent anti-imperialist orientation of societal development. At the session of the People's Assembly in June 1979, Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano declared that his foreign policy was based on proletarian internationalism, that it served to consolidate national independence and strengthen the anti-imperialist front in the world. The consistent stance adopted by the People's Republic of Mozambique in the OAU and the nonalignment movement has also enhanced the international image of the republic.

The situation in South Africa occupies an important place in the international position of the People's Republic of Mozambique. This is understandable, since the country not only is geographically located in this region but has been and still is in the closest of confrontations with the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia (until it gained independence) and with the one in the Republic of South Africa. Within the framework of the front states, Mozambique has consistently favored a solution for Zimbabwe involving the Patriotic Front and has rejected all imperialist attempts at an arrangement that excludes the Front. For instance, at the OAU summit conference in 1979 in Monrovia, President Samora Machel reaffirmed that the Muzorewa regime was illegal, aggressive and murderous and that recognition of the puppet government would constitute a betrayal of the liberation forces.[17]

Particularly during the rule of the Muzorewa government, the People's Republic of Mozambique was subjected to brutal armed attacks by Southern Rhodesia's racist regime. There were human victims as well as heavy damage

to bridges and other transportation facilities, food storage depots and so forth. Mozambique provided hundreds of thousands of refugees from Southern Rhodesia with temporary homes and active support. Although itself confronted by serious economic problems, the country supplied the refugees in camps with food, clothing and so forth. Freedom fighters of the Patriotic Front were able to come together in Mozambique and organize training programs. They were thus provided with a stable backup organization for the armed struggle to free Zimbabwe.

Mozambique resolved in March 1976 to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia, thus implementing a UN resolution on sanctions against the Smith regime. At the same time, however, this involved serious economic consequences for Mozambique that had to be overcome. Approximately 50 percent of Southern Rhodesia's foreign trade went through Mozambique territory. Severance of the railway connection caused sizable losses of foreign exchange proceeds and also of certain imports from the neighboring country. Before independence, 80,000 to 100,000 workers from Mozambique were regularly employed in Southern Rhodesia. After the borders were closed, these workers and their families had to be supported, since job opportunities were not immediately available. The loss of money sent home by these workers and of proceeds from tourism and transit fees caused an annual deficit in excess of $ 100 million in freely convertible currency for Mozambique. Funds for necessary measures in the infrastructure sector (conversion to truck transport) and for social support of affected Mozambican families also had to be raised. Aid measures called for by the UN were very limited. The UN General Assembly noted in 1978 that during the period between February 1977 and the fall of 1978, only $ 20 million had been raised for Mozambique in pledges or remittances. Like Zambia, for the most part Mozambique had to bear the economic brunt alone.

In this situation Mozambique has had to pursue differentiated policies vis-a-vis the Republic of South Africa. The racist apartheid system is of course rejected, and no political or diplomatic relations are maintained with the government in Pretoria. At the same time, however, economic ties have remained despite numerous attempts by South Africa to disrupt them, and even though the economic relations are by no means "friendly and free of restraints." Mozambique has also had to take into account that Malawi, situated along its northwest border, was closely allied with the racist regimes in Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa even though it was a member of OAU and other bodies of developing countries. Efforts have been successful to maintain relations on the level of peaceful coexistence and to keep the complicated military situation along the approximately 1,300-km border with Southern Rhodesia under control.

The problems of Africa and its ultimate liberation from colonialism and racism occupy a central position in the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The nonalignment movement, the OAU and the UN are important to Mozambique as bodies working to activate the struggle against imperialism and to support African patriots. The People's

Republic of Mozambique defends the anti-imperialist outlook of nonalignment. It advocates that the people's government of Cambodia be allowed to exercise its international responsibility in the UN and in the nonalignment movement and that the representatives of the fallen Pol Pot regime be forced to give up their places. The People's Republic of Mozambique sees in the Afghanistan government's request for assistance from the government of the USSR a sovereign act of defense against imperialist intrigues. Special attention is being given to establishing a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. Mozambique is taking an increasingly active role in the solution of world problems. It views the struggle for an enduring peace, detente and disarmament as a crucial fundamental issue of our time, one which it links with defense of the rights of all peoples.

An express goal of its foreign policy is to develop and strengthen its fraternal and friendly ties with the socialist states, which are looked upon as the natural allies of liberated peoples and liberation movements. The many different kinds of relations between the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique make it evident that this cooperation will serve to make a reality of Mozambique's basic social orientation.

Very important to the bilateral ties between the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique is the conclusion of the treaty on friendship and cooperation dating from February 1979, since it characterizes their corresponding positions on all the crucial fundamental issues of our time and establishes a framework for cooperation between the two states.

Closely related to this treaty are a number of different treaties and agreements, with the Joint Economic Committee fulfilling an important function in terms of economic cooperation. The first meeting of this body took place in July 1978 in Maputo. On this occasion, President Zamora was impressed by the rapid pace of development in economic and trade relations between the GDR and Mozambique:

"This is cooperation in support of the efforts of the African states in their struggle against the activities of imperialism, which would like to recolonize the African continent."[18]

This first session of the Joint Economic Committee also saw the conclusion of a government agreement on air and sea traffic as well as on post and telecommunications systems. Since that time, Interflug and DETA, the Mozambican airline, have been flying the Berlin-Maputo-Berlin route every 14 days. Additional agreements at the ministerial level cover cooperation in selected areas. For instance, the GDR is helping with the geological exploration and exploitation of new raw materials deposits and will be supporting the construction of a truck assembly plant and a textile factory. An important field in Mozambique and the GDR is vocational training.

The fully automatic short-wave link between Maputo and Beira began operating in the summer of 1979. Southern Rhodesian mercenaries had destroyed

the directional radio station in 1976, thus cutting the telegraph line between Maputo and Beira. Rapid restoration of the connection between the country's two most important cities was a priority task of the Third FRELIMO Congress. The GDR supplied the reception and transmission systems for the new line and provided experts to help assemble and start up the facilities.

Trade relations have increased tremendously in the past 2 years. More than 1,000 W-50 trucks are operating on the roads of Mozambique; harvest combines, universal excavators and other pieces of equipment are prized GDR products.

A prominent and frequently mentioned example of this friendly cooperation is the work of GDR miners in the coal mines of Moatize, Tete Province. Following a serious accident, coal production was at a standstill. With the aid of the GDR, the caved-in galleries have been cleared, a safety system established and production resumed. Coal production is soon to be increased to levels beyond the highest output during the colonial period. Also working in this area is an FDJ friendship brigade, one that mainly trains skilled personnel for various vocations. A comprehensive development program is to be established in Tete Province.

The assignment of GDR advisers for various areas has developed into an important form of cooperation. Occupying a special position here is the work being done to support Mozambique's public education system. The GDR's experiences with building a uniform school system are being passed on, and support is being provided in drawing up lesson plans and writing textbooks. Teachers from the GDR are helping train Mozambique's future teachers. Docents from the GDR are especially in evidence in the social science departments. Here as well, special attention is being paid to the development of Mozambican university-level educators and, as is the case with all activity by advisers, to the training of Mozambique's own cadre.

To sum up, it is evident that the People's Republic of Mozambique has followed a consistent path toward building a new society under difficult conditions. The result is a party whose stated principle is scientific socialism, a party which has solid roots among the people and sees the working class as its leading force. There have been radical changes in the ownership of property, and conditions exist which will make it impossible for the already weak indigenous bourgeoisie to form a class. It will indeed be difficult for the leadership to accomplish its acknowledged aims, mainly because of a lack of cadre in all areas. In view of the objective need for the continued existence of extensive ties to the capitalist world economy, the attainment of economic independence will be a lengthy process.

FOOTNOTES

1. E. Honecker, "The Next Steps for the Party in Continuing To Implement the Resolutions of the Ninth SED Party Congress," Berlin, 1980, p 19.

2. Eleventh SED Central Committee Plenum, from the Politburo report to the SED Central Committee, Berlin, 1979, pp 21-22.

3. Speech by Comrade F. Castro-Rus, PRESSE DER SOVJETUNION, Berlin, 1976, No 13, pp 255-256.

4. R. Ulyanovski, "Socialist-Oriented Countries," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Berlin, 1979, Vol 11, p 67.

5. Ibid.

6. Cf P. Meyns, "Liberation and National Reconstruction of Mozambique," "Studies by the Institute for African Lore," Hamburg, 1979, No 18, p 106.

7. "Programa da FRELIMO," TEMPO, Maputo, No 333, 20 February 1977, p 28 (in Portuguese).

8. Cf TEMPO, Maputo, No 332, 13 February 1977, p 19.

9. "Programa da FRELIMO," loc cit, p 23.

10. Cf "Mozambique Strengthens Its Power Apparatus," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 15-16 July 1978.

11. Cf "Cahora Bassa Hydroelectric Plant in Mozambique at Full Power," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin 6 July 1979.

12. Cf speech by President Z. Machel at the expanded session of the People's Republic of Mozambique Council of Ministers, NOTICIAS, Maputo, 5 August 1979 (in Portuguese).

13. Cf H. D. Braeuer, "Angonia Under the Plow," HORIZONT, Berlin, 1979, No 34, pp 16-17.

14. Cf TEMPO, Maputo, No 387, 5 March 1978, p 42.

15. NOTICIAS, Maputo, 8 July 1979.

16. Cf "Village Communes Advance the Development of Mozambique," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 2 August 1979.

17. Cf interview with Z. Machel at the OAU summit conference in Monrovia, NOTICIAS, Maputo, 24 July 1979, p 3.

18. "Mozambique and the GDR Expand Their Cooperation," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 11 July 1978.

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VIEWS ON MANPOWER MANAGEMENT CLARIFIED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 5, May 80 pp 54-58

[Article by Janos Juhasz, deputy department head of MSZMP Central Committee: "Timely Questions of Manpower Management"]

[Text] Summary of Debate

In recent months--from November 1979 to March 1980--upon the request of the editorial offices of PARTELET, some economic experts and party workers presented their opinions--in theoretical and in practical approaches--about the timely questions of manpower management. Eleven writings were published during the exchange of ideas. On the basis of these we will summarize the conclusions in the interest of developing the practical applications, joint thinking and action.

The expression of opinion was multifaceted as it reflected the experiences and thoughts of cabinet minister as well as physical worker, megye [party] secretary and basic organization's secretary alike, and it followed several types of approaches. Simultaneously, it also created the opportunity--and this is the expeditious thing to do--to concentrate the debate's conclusions around a few main questions. It appears from the debate as well as from the experience of practical work that we are justified in summarizing: what is the proper way to correctly judge manpower management; whose job is it to see to it that there should be efficient manpower management; is it feasible to manage manpower well while there is full employment; how should manpower migration occur; at what main questions should the political activity be directed.

Can manpower management be correctly evaluated by itself in the reflection of one or two of its factors, or in a complex way, in economic operation as a whole?

Manpower management (even though it does have some special characteristics) is determined basically by the system of conditions of economic operation as a whole. This is the way it is on the national economy's scale as well as at the level of the economic operating units. If the demands we make on the economic operation are generally lax, inconsistent and weak, then manpower management will also show unfavorable symptoms. The facts that in recent months the economic operating organs have been paying more attention to the situation of manpower resources than before in working out their plans for their employment requirements, that in some job areas hiring freezes have been ordered or internal regroupings are being conducted, are related to the fact that steps have been taken to slow down the overheated condition resulting from the quantitative growth, the economy's qualitative tasks have increased, the requirements created by economic regulation became more strict. In the coming years we must also follow this road in the interest of increasing the efficiency of manpower management. That is to say, the joint application of proper management, incentives and economic forces can make the economic operating units increase the rationality of economic operation, uncover and make use of their unused potential.

Manpower management is commonly recognized as being a complex activity, since many factors that influence each other also influence its quality. (Several such factors were mentioned during the debate.) We cannot achieve the desired result by regulating only one or another of its elements (for example, if we increase the strictness of labor discipline, but the workload is uneven, there are in material supply and in cooperation). We can increase its efficiency only if the measures and incentives form an organic unit, and if each one by itself also requires an improvement in the quality of work. This effort is reflected in the recently introduced regulatory system. Presumably the consistent implementation of the principle of normativity will prevent the requirements from relaxing. Broader application of bulk wage regulation extends the area of interest in rational staffing management. More strenuous efficiency requirements will do a better job of selecting the economic operating units, and the enterprises unable to meet these will be forced to cut down on their surplus staff because without this they will be unable to obtain adequate wage improvement opportunities. Some new elements of regulation--the possibility of paying wages in advance, increasing the minimum payments related to wage increases, putting into reserve the wages freed by cutbacks in employment--create more flexible conditions for the enterprises and also make the economic operating units interested in staffing management.

Our steps aimed at improving the manpower management are not intended to be permanent. The economic conditions--due to, among other things, changes in the market conditions--are constantly changing. Because of this, new requirements and new methods will be needed. From the viewpoint of manpower management we will have to take into consideration [the following] as changing elements: the simultaneous processes of [some] activities expanding and [others] being eliminated; the training and organizational tasks and the mechanization opportunities (liberating manpower) resulting from technological progress; the system of performance evaluating; the means and methods of furnishing incentives.

Experience indicates that our economic operating units do not handle the process of change with sufficient consistency and not always even with appropriate regard for its economic significance. Another consequence of this is that there is now a logjam of manpower management problems awaiting solution. Taking the conclusion into consideration, efforts must be made to make manpower management a continuous activity at the enterprises and cooperatives. An organizational solution must also be found for this at the economic operating units.

Is the development of efficient manpower management a central or an enterprise task?

We have to answer the question because--as the debate also indicates--while decisions are being made on what is to be done, waiting for each other or mixups in the tasks are not infrequent. At the same time, implementation of our economic policy goals calls for determined action on all levels of economic life. That is, everyone must carry out his own tasks.

Even with their mutual interrelationship the manpower management tasks can be well defined and separated at all levels of economic operation.

We can consider [the following] to be central tasks:

--insuring the overall manpower balance through developing the economy;

--development of optimal occupational ratios by means of branch and regional developments;

--operation of a training structure corresponding to our long range goals;

--implementation of the requirements which provide incentives for efficient economic operation (including also manpower management) by means of economic, legal, organizational and other means.

The central economic management solves questions of a strategic character from the viewpoint of their content, that is, determines the framework system of manpower management in terms of goals and means. Thus it does not have the opportunity to carry out specific manpower management tasks. This is the job of the economic operating units. The responsibility of the central administration is to arrive at correct recognition of our development goals on the basis of external and internal conditions, and to provide an efficiency system of means for implementing these. It must be admitted that in this respect we have not yet succeeded in achieving progress commensurate with the requirements. For the central administration this represents such specific tasks as:

--the socioeconomic requirements related to the use of live labor should be expressed in the plans; economic regulation should make such efficiency requirements that force the economic operating units to expeditiously use live labor, provide incentives for uncovering internal reserves, to improve the level of organization;

--urge the enterprises to use wages based on performance requirements; however, the income ratios should provide financial advantages to the occupational groups most critical from the manpower supply viewpoint to help insure that sufficient replacements will be available to meet the demand.

What the practice of manpower management will turn out to be like in the final analysis depends basically on the economic operating units. This follows from the fact that the basic tasks of economic operation, the production, investment and technological development tasks, are concentrated here. All these determine the number, qualitative composition, workload utilization, and specific incentives of manpower. Thus we must seek primarily here the way for solving the problems. More specifically this means that staffing management, solving the problems which appear in the need for manpower, in its composition, level of training and in the organizing activity related to this must form an organic part of the enterprise's strategy. Greater attention than before must be paid to the interrelationships between production and manpower management, and to its effects on productivity, on expanding and narrowing activities, on production fluctuation, etc. And finally it must be acknowledged that manpower is also a cost factor, thus it has a direct influence on the way the enterprise's profits develop.

Can insuring full employment be consistent with the requirement of efficient manpower management?

In addition to full employment of the working age population, insuring the right to work, the basic goal of our employment policy continues to be that the workers should do work corresponding to their abilities, training and to the changing needs of the national economy, and at the same time the requirements of doing efficient, disciplined work should prevail. Insuring full employment follows from our social policy goals, insuring efficiency from the basic requirements of our planned economy. Both requirements are related to our society's essential characteristics, thus we are not dealing with goals contradicting each other.

Insuring full employment has its own ways and means. The most important of these are: insuring economic growth; the process of natural turnover; expansion of activities in harmony with needs; the investment activity; establishment of new industry; establishment of new enterprises and cooperatives. These means continue to be available to our economic policy. But the process of implementation was not free of tensions in the past and will not be in the future. That is, this goal can always be implemented as a tendency, since the economy is never in a condition where the needs of the national economy and the demands of the employees are completely identical. It is the constant change and movement which "puts the lines into order," and develops the proper employment proportions over and over again.

The fact is that in the present stage of our economic development this change and movement may gain strength. However, this must be accepted in the interest of our continued growth.

The foregoing also provides the answer that insuring full emp'oyment is not the job of the enterprises. They have neither the means nor the opportunity to implement it. Their task is to conduct operations as efficiently as possible with the means and manpower entrusted to their care, and in this manner to promote our economic growth, which also represents the foundations for insuring full employment.

Should the migration of manpower occur in a conscious or in a spontaneous manner?

Our unequivocal answer to this must be that we must take advantage of the opportunities provided by both methods. Our historical experience also proves this since in recent decades the mass of several hundred thousands of agricultural workers streamed in this manner into various areas of the national economy.

It is obvious that free selection of their place of work cannot be denied the workers. At the same time it also is not immaterial that this intention of the people should approach the national economy's actual needs. The application of conscious means to this end is indispensable. Among other things, the following are needed to accomplish all this:

--enterprises which work really efficiently should be able to attain larger incomes, larger development opportunities, and through this they should also be able to accept manpower;

--the proper authorities should also promote realistic determination of the manpower needs by working out branch development ideas and concepts;

--the system of public education and occupational training should more flexibly satisfy the national economy's needs by better conforming to the differentiated demands by developing the workers' abilities to adapt to changes;

--the workers, or some of them should be more consciously prepared to operate the new investments;

--shifting the manpower made available due to the effect of incentives and other economic factors to efficiently working enterprises having unfilled employment needs must also be assisted by intervening in the work force;

--it is justified to enter into contracts in a broader area than in the past, which contracts would make it possible for the workers to be employable in other job areas also.

At what should the activity of party organizations be directed?

Making manpower management more efficient is in the interest of the entire society. Therefore it is important to handle these tasks appropriately in accordance with their significance in the party organizations, social and

mass organizations. The party organizations should take more active initiatives and should support more consistently the disciplinary, termination, regrouping measures which become necessary, the justified changes in management, and the organizational mergers. In explaining the necessity of these and similar measures, the party organizations and social organs can rely with confidence--and must rely--on the working masses. The party organs should more vigorously support the economic managers who demand efficient and disciplined work than they now do. During the course of their control work, when they receive accountings from the managers they should pay greater attention to developing the economic conditions for organized and disciplined work, demand even more that the communists set an example. They should be more consistent in implementating [the requirement] that improvement so in work discipline and performances are the job of the employees as well as of the supervisors. During the course of their work as economic organizers they should urge that the tasks of manpower management should be an organic part of the enterprise's plans. They should provide assistance to education, to evaluation according to performances, to constantly improving the work methods. They should be the ones to supply the initiative for rapidly solving problems as they occur.

It is necessary that the paying of wages in proportion to the varying performances and the differentiation of individual incomes as a result of this should receive appropriate political support--greater than it now does. It can be seen that imagined or actual local tensions deriving from the differentiation are receiving excessive emphasis. When such positions are taken it must always be weighed how much of the higher income is derived from proportionately higher performances. It is important that the conditions for giving out awards, bonuses should always be connected to the new, the forward-looking thing.

Achieving [the goal] that only suitable, creative people who are willing to take the initiative and accept responsibility should work in management functions is a task which also affects the manpower management. The intiative must be taken more consistently to remove those managers who do not fulfill the requirements, who are unsuitable, and actions taken against those managers who tolerate lax and undisciplined work or who exhibit similar behavior. It is important that the party organizations and social organs should not support those workers who do not fulfill the work requirements which can justly be expected of them.

Credit is due to the debate for directing attention to the importance of manpower management in solving our economic tasks. It has pointed out the problems and in several areas it has also pointed out the initiatives taken by the party organizations and economic managers in order to decrease the tensions, to cure the problems. This spirit of taking the initiative and unity of action must also be maintained in the future. The endeavor which was present in several articles is also correct, namely, that the individual brought up the questions of his own area and sought the solutions there. That is, our economic tasks are such that they must be solved not in terms of generalities but at the given, specific [work] places.

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BLAME FOR ECONOMIC WOES LAID ON MARXIST IDEOLOGY

Paris RAPORT O STANIE NARODU I PRL in Polish 1980 pp 9-26

[Lecture by Stefan Kurowski, professor of the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Geography and Territorial Development, professor of the Construction Industry "Orgbud" Institute of Organization, Management and Economics, delivered to a conference of the Polish Sociological Association, 12 May 1979, Warsaw. Reprinted with other documents in book form by Instytyt Literacki.]

[Text] Our current economic crisis is not an isolated phenomenon in the history of the last 35 years. Even a cursory retrospective view of the period clearly indicates that a crisis state, expressed by tensions, imbalance in economic relations, and the frustration on the social plane which continuously accompanies the Polish economy, is, as it were, a normal state. The only departures from this were short periods in 1947-48, 1956-57, and 1971-73, and these were, actually, caused by factors external to the system.

The current phase of the country's socio-economic crisis gets our particular attention, because it is deeper than the previous ones, has a significantly wider scope and extends far beyond the realm of economic phenomena, and because it is not accompanied in the consciousness of society by the feeling that some possible solutions exist, unlike in the mid-1950s and in 1970. It seems that the arsenal of rescue activities for which there is room within the possibilities of the system has been exhausted.

The further development of the situation can take place according to two scenarios. There may come a solution from outside the system, or the system might yield to a fossilization in which both the economy and the whole of social life would fall into a state of lasting degeneration. History shows that, under certain conditions, the mechanisms blocking social development give such societies the characteristics of massive stability. We have no guarantee that we are secured against such a future.

That which we can do now is to carry out an analysis of the current crisis which would uncover those permanent mechanisms which cause this state of affairs constantly to reproduce itself. Since we do not treat today's

situation of the country's economy as an accidental and isolated situation, but as something regular, we must reach to those constant factors which constitute the framework composing the system in order to explain the genesis and mechanism of this state. One such factor is doctrine: economic, social, and political.

This doctrine did not arise as the result of an inductive generalization of economic practice, as was the case with what is called bourgeois economy, but the reverse: economic practice was shaped as the result of deductive conclusions drawn from doctrine. This is exactly the sense in which the current economic system is artificial, since it was first thought up in the form of a doctrine and then applied in practice. Doctrine formed the principles of the system, is called upon to legitimize and defend it, and is continuously reactivated at those times when it is necessary to oppose successive attempts to reform the system or even only some sectoral correction.

Marxism--since this is what we are talking about, coxcombing in its form and usurpatory in its total ambitions to solve all the problems of man and of mankind, constitutes in its economic part the basic cause of the permanent crisis of our economy. We cannot in an honest manner analyze this crisis if we seek its roots only in the errors of economic practice, in unfavourable economic conditions, and in the incompetence of planners and governors. We must reach to doctrine, since ultimately it is chiefly responsible for all this.

In the following remarks we will bring up several basic canons of Marxist political economy which constitute the theoretical and ideological background of the current system and current economic policy and will confront it with the results which its application has brought. In this way we will show whether the roots of the daily disasters of the Polish economy reach and how deeply ideological in nature are the factors which condition practice, which we ever more frequently assess as in conflict with economic rationality and the social interest.

The Primacy of Politics Over Economics

The first and most basic thing is a certain general relationship of doctrine to economic phenomena. This approach is characterized by a concentration of attention only on certain aspects of the economic process, while other aspects are overlooked or slighted. This emerges clearly in the definition of political economy, which is described as a science about the social relations in production, meaning property relations. An example of this approach is Marx's "Capital," in which the author altogether overlooks the problems of management and effectiveness. Not nature, but other men, are seen as the major enemy in the process of production, the process of work, which is the exchange of material between man and nature.

This approach, applied in explaining previous socio-economic systems, was taken over into the construction of a new system. It was recognized that the most important thing would be establishing new property relations and then maintaining and expanding them, even if the new property relations constituted a regression and led to wastage in the process of that exchange of material between man and nature, meaning on the plane of production.

Hence the primacy of politics over economics, the primacy of political criteria and solutions over economic ones, which so weighs on our economic reality. Although in no system to date has there been so much talk about production (and lately also about effectiveness) as there is currently in Poland, its place in propaganda is disproportional to its place in the hierarchy of goals and criteria. The famous statement that "What is at issue is not that all production grow, but that socialist production grow" continues to be the guiding principle, although the author of this formula died, morally discredited, over a quarter of a century ago. This guiding principle decides about the form of our economy in decisions which are daily made anew. This is especially visible where various property systems and various levels of social ownership of this property meet. The exigencies even of evident effectiveness are sacrificed for the sake of a principled policy everywhere, both in everyday petty decisions and in great solutions. This happens when the dictator openly announces the collectivization of agriculture, although this leads to the hunger and malnourishment of entire generations; when a petty governor or minister covertly strives for nationalization of agriculture, although in this way he is preparing an inevitable food crisis and is burdening the economy of his country with enormous costs; and when a gmina manager persecutes the private farmer in order to dispossess him of his farm and then does not sell this land to some other private farmer, but transfers it to an agricultural circle, there to lie fallow. This happens when another governor imposes an extremely centralized system for managing small-scale manufacturing and trade... They all act according to this one leading principle, they all apply the primacy of politics over economics, and the massive economic losses resulting from this they bear light-heartedly, since the possession of political power safeguards them personally against the consequences of their wastage. They are like that false mother before Solomon's court and prefer to sacrifice economic effectiveness rather than permit even a part of the economy to function without their total control.

The Marxist Theory of Value

The cornerstone of political economy is its theory of value. The reply given to the question what creates (economic) value determines not only the direction of explanations of economic phenomena, but also--in this system--the direction and form of economic solutions.

Marx says: work creates value, and value is proportional to the quantity and quality of the work "contained" in a product or in merchandise. At first glance this thesis seems obvious, and herein is its sophistry. The apparent obviousness of the Marxist theory of value results from the fact that it

corresponds to man's primitive tendency to see the world in substantive terms. Work is "contained" in merchandise, hence it sits in it "somewhere in the middle" as a nucleus and gives it its value. In truth, it is added here that only the amount of "socially indispensable" work takes part in creating value, but, first, who is to describe what amount is socially indispensable? and, second, this is a theoretical subtlety too difficult for minds inclined toward simple solutions to grasp. In a capitalist economy the market, with its mechanism of competition, determines what quantity of labor in merchandise is socially indispensable and, consequently, how much the merchandise is worth, but in a nationalized and centrally planned economy there is no competitive market, so the amount can only be decreed; it is, therefore, not a "socially indispensable," but a "socially discretionary" amount. On the level of practical consequences, on the other hand, the thesis about work as the source and measure of value has extensive consequences. Above all, it determines the system of setting prices. Independently of what are the details of such a system, one thing always appears: the basis of prices and the starting point for calculating them are production costs, to which a percentage increment is added for profit. The effects of this are far-reaching and all of them are harmful for the economy. First, price ceases to be for the producer an objective magnitude to which he ought to adapt his costs; instead, costs become the system of reference for prices. Since there is no mechanism which objectively indicates the socially indispensable or justified level of these costs, chaos arises in the relationship of prices as a result of the accidental cost levels of various producers. This chaos is deepened as a result of the behavior of producers: since price is exclusively a function of costs, while these constitute an expression of work input, costs gain a magic power to create value: the higher the costs, the higher the value. Among producers, therefore, the difference between inputs and effects is blurred and, if every input which is made eo ipso becomes an effect, keeping economic accounts becomes an activity with no object. Among producers, expansion of production comes to mean expansion of inputs.

The matter has further consequences. If value is created by work, then the consumer-purchaser and his demand have no role to play. The degree of desirability which he ascribes to a given good, meaning its utility for him, has no influence on its value. By the same token, the rarity of goods which results from the relationship if supply and demand does not influence their value. This circumstance sets the means and direction of the creation of national income. Since national income is the sum of the produced values and since this is created by work inputs, national income cannot be increased by any process whatsoever which takes place in the sphere of demand and of what is called consummation. [As used in this text, production is "consummated" when a consumer purchases the product; a decision to produce is "verified" or "confirmed" by how the product fares with consumers.] If the purchaser ascribes a greater utility to one national income structure and a smaller one to another and if the shifting of goods among purchasers increases the sum of the utility which they feel, nothing in our income, conceived as value designated by work, can change. In practical economic policy, this principle is consistently respected. Efforts to increase income are undertaken, but

only through increases in production, meaning increases in work inputs. The route of increasing income by means other than increased inputs, on the other hand, is definitively closed. Hence the rush which we see to investments, to opening new factories, to increasing employment, and to increasing inputs of raw materials, materials, and energy, which leads to the constant and increasing tensions which constitute the normal state of the economy of this system.

As a further consequence, the thesis that it is work input which creates and determines value also decides on the peculiar branch structure of production which the economy as a whole has. Since the value of a finished good is dependent on work inputs in all previous stages of the production cycle, the raw materials branches of the economy expand and the primacy of Sector I, meaning means of production, over Section II meaning consumer items, is justified, which fully corresponds to the previously discussed expansionism of inputs. As the ultimate result, we have a system of "production for production's sake."

There is, theoretically, an exit from this nonsense. It is found in the aforementioned term about the "socially indispensable" inputs which create value, which is supposed to mean not only the indispensable level of these inputs for a unit of production, but also the socially indispensable allocation of labor in the creation of all the products of a given branch. Whether the allocation of work in a given branch is really indispensable is confirmed in the process of consummation or, indirectly, by the consumer. If the consumer does not give this confirmation for the full allowance of work, then the incremental allocation of work no longer creates value; if he gives such confirmation "with an excess," then the value of the merchandise "represents a greater quantity of work than was put in." In this way the consumer and demand enter the Marxist theory of value by the backdoor. Marx, however, opened this gate (only in Volume III of "Capital," when he had once again reconsidered the entire matter) only to explain the mechanism of the functioning of a capitalist economy. In planning a socialist economy, on the other hand, he immediately slammed shut this gate by formulating his break-neck thesis of what is called directly social work.

The Directly Social Character of Work

The thesis about the directly social character of production in a socialist system is a key complement to the theory of value created by work. If this thesis did not exist, even the Marxist theory of value would not have such harmful politico-economic consequences, since a complement about socially indispensable inputs would permit a rational solution of the whole matter.

What does this thesis say? It states that, once the means of production are socialized, the allocation of work which society expends in order to produce individual kinds of merchandise does not have to be verified indirectly, in the process of consummation by the consumers, since that verification takes place directly in the very allocation of that work, meaning in the decision what to produce and how much, because the society which makes

these decisions knows its own needs. Every production decision, therefore, is ex ante correct on principle, since it is identical with the feeling of that need which this production is to satisfy. The doctrine states that the socialist society itself makes this decision, but this is, of course, technically impossible, hence a definite organ must come forth in the role of the whole of society; we have, therefore, the institution of central planning. The central plan, equipped with the identity card of directly social work, is immutable, its production decisions are simultaneously decisions about consumption made in the name of the whole of society, and since it simultaneously decides about unit inputs of socially indispensable work, this means that it decides about the value of all goods and services, including the value of the labor force. The central plan thus performs the role of God. Given this assumption, of course, there is no room for any waste, erroneous investments, disproportions in production, and market imbalance, and supply and demand are balanced ex ante. The thesis about directly social work brings it about that the central plan ipso facto creates both the norm and its consummation. There is no room here for adapting production to needs, since this adaptation is carried out in the head of one subject: the central planner. Hence results the formulation of the basic objective of a socialist economy, which is to satisfy the needs of society, as opposed to the basic objective of a capitalist economy, which is the striving for profit, which only indirectly might lead to production which satisfies needs.

The thesis about directly social work is the moral, theoretical, and political justification of central planning. Simultaneously, however, it remains in glaring contradiction with the reality of societies living in a system of a centrally planned economy. This is because implementation of the assumptions about directly social work would require identification of the goals, strivings, and needs of the central planner with the goals and needs of the whole of society; it would require what is called the moral-political unity of society, and every other kind of unity, to an extent which is altogether impossible with a population of the species homo sapiens. Attempts made in various periods of history in the direction of obtaining such unity, most recently undertaken in Cambodia by--as our press called them until not long ago--the "Khmer patriots," have always been marked by crimes amounting to genocide and by slavery, in comparison with which the regime of Genghis Khan could pass as an example of liberalism.

In systems wherein the implementation of this nightmarish Utopia has not taken such ghastly forms, meaning also in our system, the thesis about the directly social work which is achieved by the nationalization of the means of production has still had enormous economic costs. This is because it has opened the way for altogether unlimited voluntarism in economic decisions, which by their very nature cannot be subject to control and verification. This is why every economic plan which is proposed to society is declared to be optimal, meaning the best of all possible ones; why every investment decision is recognized from the start as completely correct; and why the whole of economic policy constitutes the object of unceasing apologetics, both in the so-called mass media and in the works of learned professors. In reality, however, the

decisions of the central planner about the allocation of work in individual directions of production not only are not marked by social accuracy of aim, but, quite the opposite, invert the proportions resulting from social needs. In connection with this, the anti-social distribution of the nation's work goes so far that it not only slights needs in the area of consumption, which is completely defenseless in our quasi-market, but is not even able to adapt itself to the needs of the sphere of production. The central planner, who makes himself into a demiurge who, in the name of society, carries out the direct confirmation of the work expended by that society, is not even able to balance the supply which he creates with the needs in the sphere of production which he had himself created. Hence the principle fails there where theoretically it might be expected that there is a subjective unity of decisions about supply and demand. In this way factories are built without an assured material supply, furnaces and energy-intensive machines for which there is no electrical energy are brought on line, shipments for which there are no railroad cars or tracks are planned, merchandise for which there are no cranes or warehouses is accepted for trans-loading in ports, buildings and factory halls in which there is nothing to put are built, while simultaneously machines which there is no place to install are imported, and production which cannot be sold either in the country or overseas is begun or continued. In connection with this, the dogma about directly social work does not permit the establishment of a reverse linkage between demand and supply, which would introduce a correction into this activity. The dogma does not permit recognition that there exists an independent phase of production consummation which can bring into question the labor put into it, lower its value, and pronounce the bankruptcy of the producer and the planner. Nothing of this nature can happen, so new production is added to the value of the national income at the very moment it is created, without consideration of whether it will be shipped out, sold, accepted, or installed and whether it corresponds to needs in terms of quality, functionality, and construction. And in this way our book income grows, while in reality disporportions grow in the social process of reproduction and bring it about that almost every link in this reproduction chain becomes a bottleneck. This leads to massive waste: huge amounts of society's work do not find social confirmation in those proportions in which they were expended and, therefore, cannot change in value. The dogma about directly social work, however, keeps the overly faithful in the conviction that the central plan is able ex ante to divide up the work of society among various needs in such a way that work is immediately socially confirmed.

Truth to tell, faith can move mountains, but it cannot eliminate contradiction. The contradiction between the assumption about the directly social character of the decisions of the central plan and the indirect method of the real confirmation of the social character of work in this system is--let us so call it--the first basic contradiction of socialism. The main opponent of the central planner within the framework of this contradiction are the consumers, meaning the populace.

Socialization of the Means of Production

Let us return to that moment in which the conviction was born that work in the new system can be confirmed by the very act of undertaking it. Whence came this nonsense? Marx stated that it would be so at the moment, and as a result, of the socialization of the means of production. He thought that the indirectly social character of work resulted from the private system of ownership of the means of production, and not from the social division of labor. Marx even believed--and this is a complete fantasy--that the social division of labor would disappear of its own accord once the means of production were socialized.

And so a socialization of the means of production must be carried out, since it is exactly then that society, in the person of the central planner, will gain the magic power of self-confirming work. In accordance with Marxist custom, this answer had to be strengthened with a thesis from which its theoretical and historical necessity would result. Such a thesis was formulated and it reads: in capitalism there is a contradiction between the social character of the process of production and the private character of ownership of the means of production. This is the so-called basic contradiction of capitalism. The contradiction has to be overcome by making the level of socialization in both elements of this system identical. Since the process of production cannot be de-socialized, ownership of the means of production must be socialized.

This injunction was brought to life in the form of the establishment of state ownership of the means of production, and so this system operates to this day with us. In this theoretical reasoning there is embedded a basic error whose potential has been magnified many times by its embodiment into practice. Socialization of the means of production, whose certain stage was noticed by our wise men from Trewir, cannot be considered a category of kind, meaning a quality which either is or is not there, but must be considered a category of degree. Socialization of the process of production is itself a process which goes through various degrees. Thus, the process of production which emerged in the nineteenth century factory had a higher degree of socialization than the process of production in the guild craftman's workshop in the Middle Ages, but, despite this progress, it did not cross the stage of the enterprise. Since that time the socialization of the process of production has made further progress, which has expressed itself in the growth of the average size of the production plant and in the expansion of the scope of division of labor, but the process of production continues to go in enterprises! Adjustment of the level of socialization of ownership to the level of socialization of the process of production, if it is to be accurate, cannot, therefore, exceed the level of the enterprise. One has to find such a form of ownership or of relations of production which would correspond to the enterprise level of the development of productive forces. But what was done? In the sphere of ownership the enterprise stage was leap-frogged and that stage which is almost the highest, state ownership, was reached for. So there arose a new mismatch: state ownership of the means of production is not suitable

to the enterprise character of the process of production and this mismatch gave birth to a new contradiction, which could be called the second basic contradiction of socialism. This contradiction, which is reified in the simultaneous existence of a central plan, which is the subject of state ownership of the means of production, and of enterprises, which are the subjects which organize the real forms of the process of production, accounts for a significant portion of the functioning of this system. Between these two poles there is an unceasing "who whom" struggle, and the costs of this struggle are borne by the entire economy.

Truth to tell, the economic machine does turn, but the machinery grinds, grates, and jams. The central plan directs the major part of its efforts to the struggle with the enterprises, trying to subject them to its orders, limit their independence, break down the barriers which differentiate them, weaken their so-called natural horizontal interdependences and strenghten vertical interdependence, acquire information about the process of production, internalize them with the whole economy, and deeconomize the motivations which guide them. The enterprises, in turn, struggle against the central plan, evade its injunctions and prohibitions, hide their so-called reserves, and create an unofficial network of dependences, an entire underground economy ruled by peculiar criteria and by economic motivations contradictory to the central plan. The stages of this struggle are marked by successive attempts to reform "the system of planning and management" and by successive limitations of these reforms, and the results of this struggle are completely distorted management practices in enterprises, where economic accounting is completely impossible because of these limitations and parameters. The central plan, however, does not stop with extemporaneous activities in this struggle with the enterprises. It strives to win this struggle by a peculiar resolution of the second basic contradiction, namely by hastening the socialization of the process of production. For this purpose it creates even larger enterprises, merges smaller plants, and shifts ever more decisions to ever higher levels of associations and combines--doing all this in order to facilitate management from the position of the central plan or, in other words, to exercise state ownership. It is unimportant in connection with this that this is done at the expense of economic effectiveness, that artificial links are created and natural ones broken, and that an enormous burden in the form of a bureaucratic apparatus grows in the process. A recent example of such "acceleration" of the socialization of the processes of production was the liquidation of small-scale industry and the absorption of its plants into the so-called key. This did great harm on the market, increased the already sharp imbalance in hundreds of item categories, and decreased the effectiveness of the work of hundreds of thousands of people. Only several days ago, under the influence of the deepening crisis, was a reversion from this policy promised and were the benefits and necessity of small enterprises noticed. But this is a momentary tactical withdrawal, while the previous decision was an element of a long-term strategy. What is at stake in this strategy is for the "progressive" phase of social relations, expressing itself in state ownership of the means of production, to "hasten" the development of productive forces and to lead to transcendence of the framework of individual enterprises and the creation of an imagined one great factory in the

entire country and then maybe in the world. But this intention signifies a complete reversal of roles in the process hitherto followed by social development, in which it was the development of productive forces which was to stimulate production relations, always tending to delay, to develop. Such a division of roles was logical. To expect, on the other hand, that the role of the demiurge of history will now be taken by state ownership, which will drag the production process with it, is, as it were, putting the cart before the horse. This cannot succeed, and stubborn persistence in this intention can only bring it about that the horse will collapse and the cart fall apart. The central planner, on the other hand, carries on his struggle on two fronts: against people, coming forth in the role of consumers, and against enterprises. He also carefully watches lest his two opponents join forces and begin to act in the common interest, which could happen on the market. This is also why the central planner has separated producers and consumers on the market with the help of a system of dual prices: factory prices and sale prices. This, of course, leads to huge economic waste and leads to a breaking of elementary links between producers and consumers, whose relations in this system are best characterized by the slogan: "Our client--our enemy." Simultaneously, however, this method, by not permitting signals from consumers to reach producers and vice versa, guarantees the central planner the retention of his power.

Productive and Non-Productive Work

Let us return to the matter of value. According to The Doctrine, the source of value is work, but not just any work, but only so-called productive work. Marx here maintained the old distinction of the physiocrats and of Adam Smith, and his continuers transferred it to an epoch in which it became an anachronism. In connection with this, with an inclination to simplify proper to them, they changed the rather sophistic Marxist criterion of productive work into a concept based on trivial materialism. With Marx, production is that work which creates surplus value, even if this is the work of, for example, a teacher employed in a school. Among contemporary Marxists, on the other hand, only that work is productive which transforms material. Thus there is a regression to a method of conceptualization proper to the physiocrats, and this concept has burdened the entire economic structure of the countries subjected to The Doctrine. The chain of dependencies was as follows: since income is newly created value, and value is created by productive work, income is created by production work--exclusively. Since we are striving to increase income, which is to be society's reproduction fund, we ought to increase the share of productive work in the social division of labor. In order to attain this, the sectors of productive work must be expanded and the people employed in this work must be better compensated so that they might want to undertake it. Actually, this better compensation is justified, since those who do not work productively, not being producers of value, live off the productive workers, as it were, and their pay is the result of a secondary division of income. When we already have such principles, it now suffices for us to draw a demarcation line between productive and non-productive work wherever we please in order to bring

about lasting disporportions in the structure of the economy and injurious injustices in pay. The continued backwardness of the development of services in our system and the discrimination in the hierarchy of salaries against those who work in services, including professionals of such social significance as doctors and teachers, is the direct consequence of abiding equally by the spirit and the letter of The Doctrine. The social and economic harmfulness of this state of affairs is so obvious and has been condemned so many times that we spare ourselves further exposition on this subject.

Keeping Economic Accounts "Without the Interference of Value"

In tens of places in the works of the classic of The Doctrine we run across their negative attitude to value in general, to value as a general form and as a measurement of things in the process of management. Despite the declaration that value comes from work and exclusively from the labor of the workers, this has not sufficed to nobilitate it and give it citizenship rights in the new system. Marx more than once speaks about the "mysticism of the world of merchandise," or of things expressed in value terms, and Engels straightforwardly predicts that, when society takes the means of production into its possession and applies them in a directly social way, then people will take care of things in an altogether simple way, without the interference of ill-famed "value." This obsessive hostility to value has transferred itself to the tool used to measure this value, that is, money. During the first period of the new power, during the times of what is called war communism, attempts were made immediately to abolish money, and still later this experiment was repeated a couple of times, partially in Cuba, recently in Cambodia, always with lamentable results. Despite these failures of "taking care of everything in an altogether simple way," a negative attitude to value and money has remained and continues to impress its stamp on the everyday economic practice of the system. This is revealed in a matter of key importance for this practice, meaning economic accounting, which is to supply the prerequisites for the selection of directions of production and methods of manufacturing. As we remember from earlier expositions, enterprises constricted by the iron corset of the commands and prohibitions of the central plan cannot make economic choices, so in their case economic calculation has no subject. The burden of choice and of conducting accounts is, therefore, transferred to the central planner, since it is he, after all, who allocates the labor for the manufacturing of various products. But it is precisely in this matter that he is completely helpless. The attribute, which the central planner has ascribed to himself, of making work directly social, has a politico-propaganda value and can be useful for external purposes. Internally, however, in the planning workshop, it solves nothing and cannot substitute for economic accounting. The central planner could conduct a macro-economic accounting, but for this one has to have what are called real prices. There are no such prices, since, as we understand from previous expositions, prices in this system can, as a result of basing the theory of value on labor, at best reflect the relationship of work inputs, meaning the supply-cost side, while completely neglecting the demand-use side and its rarity relationships. Second, even if such prices existed, the central planner could not keep accounts with such prices, because this would be his

alienation and his subjection of himself to the mystification of indirect confirmation of the correctness of his decisions--indirect, because made in value categories. The Doctrine does not permit this. Thus all that remains is to conduct what is called direct economic accounting, meaning accounting by means of natural units. The planner compares what is more "profitable" (an inappropriate word: whom is it to profit and how?): to build one steel mill or 200,000 apartment, or to use the labor of 1000 men and 2 machines or of 300 men and 10 machines. In this way he compares things which are incommensurate, and since he has thousands of such natural alternatives, he cannot find a common denominator for them and, as a result of this, he cannot even determine for himself what he wants to maximize. (In the scientific language of mathematical programming this is called a purpose function). Ultimately, the decision of the central planner are based on intuition and on several general priorities which are not subject to quantification; in terms of details (and of these details there are tens of thousands), these decisions are accidental and talking about optimization when dealing with them is the same kind of apologetical nonsense as pronouncements about the direct confirmation of work.

We have to realize that keeping direct accounts is simply a contradictio in adiecto, meaning a contradiction between the concept and the adjective assigned to it. This is a typical case of adding half a horse and half a hare. There is no economic accounting beyond the sphere of value, meaning other than in the language or prices. If there is no market to supply these prices, things have to be given weights or assessments based on rarity relationships and accounts have to be kept on the basis of precisely these assessments. But for this purpose one has to subject oneself to discipline, meaning abandonment of the supernatural attribute of a demiurge of directly social work.

Money Is Not the Universal Equivalent of Merchandise

If such an accounting is to be accessible to outside control, it must be kept in monetary form. Money has remained in the system, but in fragmentary forms and with distorted functions; additionally, these functions are different in different spheres of its activity. It performs one function in the operations of the central planner, another in turnovers among enterprises, and yet another on the market of the merchandise purchased by the populace. In all these spheres, however, its major failing is that it has ceased to be the universal equivalent of merchandise. The central planner makes use of money as an accounting unit which is to help record-keeping and balancing. It is, of course, a secret how one can keep records in units which have different magnitudes in different ledgers. This is not, however, the most important problem. Significantly more important are the problems appearing in the area of balancing or of equalizing different supplies and demands. Since he still cannot completely escape money, the central planner must make so-called synthetic balances, or balances in terms of money. And here the deprivation of money of the trait of being a universal equivalent of merchandise avenges itself in a fatal manner. Balances drawn up with such money are simple fictitious and the equalization of demand and supply, enumerated in monetary

terms, does not correspond to stability in real streams of goods and services. The sphere of investments presents the most glaring examples of such balancing. Then we read that sufficient (financial) means have been allocated for some need, but that so-called (processing) capability is not available. From an economic point of view, of course, such a situation is nonsense, and the statement itself is simply selfcontradictory.

In the sphere of turnovers between state enterprises another shortcoming of our crippled money emerges. Although this turnover is carried on by way of purchases and sales, thus supposedly in monetary terms, the central planner diligently watches lest the transfers of that bookkeeping money might--God forfend!--determine the flow of material goods, lest the money accumulated in enterprises, for example, become capital or effective demand. Money is to remain altogether passive. The care taken to maintain the passivity of money was clearly revealed in the successive limitations of the last reform, the so-called WOG [Large Economic Organization] reform. Enterprises, of course, oppose this and this is yet another sector of the central planner's struggle with them.

On the consumer goods market and in the services, on the other hand, money is a necessary condition for the consummation of allocated allotments of what are called standard goods, which are part of the basket of existing supply. It is, of course, a necessary condition, but increasingly not a sufficient condition. Since the prices of an ever increasing number of goods diverge from the level of equivalence of supply and demand and supply fails to react to this, it is inevitable that money is simply ceasing to be a medium of exchange. Slowly we are sliding down to the state of a barter economy in which goods and services are exchanged for other goods and services, without the mediating role of money or with money only in the role of a supplementary addition. The hitch is that we sell our so-called labor power to the major employer, the state, for precisely this ever more deficient money. The only way to bring about equivalency in this transaction, therefore, is to limit our effort or labor productivity, which, however, leads to losses which we all bear.

The inadequacy of monetary assessments of social work and the narrowing of the sphere of money's functioning causes exceptionally glaring losses at those times when domestic work and foreign work come into contact, which is called international trade. The difficulty is that the power of the central planner does not extend beyond the borders of the country and that, once he is beyond those borders, he cannot impose his own norms about socially indispensable inputs, either in regard to directions or to the level of reimbursement for costs. In international trade the country's central planner finds himself in the position of a simple contracting party in the market. In order to act rationally in this position, he must keep a precise economic accounting and must know how much what costs us and what are our profits. With our price-money chaos, this cannot be determined and, in the face of this, it is impossible to indicate what we should sell. In these conditions, international trade instead of enriching the country, becomes yet another area

of colossal losses and of wastage of our work. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that, when we set out on the road of more extensive trade with the market economy of the West, our additional problems began and that, after an initial period of abundance, we found ourselves in a position where burdens resulting from indebtedness significantly exceed the benefits which we managed to draw from our loans. The weight of 12-20 billion dollars of indebtedness, therefore, constitutes yet another proof and result of the low effectiveness of a system whose basic roots ought to be perceived in doctrine.

A False Doctrine

The purpose of my expositions hitherto has been to point out the doctrinal causes of the failures of economic practice. From these failures of practice, however, we also have to draw conclusions about the doctrine. From the principles of logical reasoning we know that the falsity of the conclusions testifies undisputably to the falsity of the premises. Hence a thousand positive experiments still cannot give certitude about the correctness of a thesis, but one negative experiment has the force of a proof of its falsity. In our case the proportions are reversed. We have only to call things by name. The doctrine is false.

Conclusion

Such is our economic system: built on false economic theory, setting itself tasks which are impossible to accomplish, making use of irrational methods, and pushing us into bearing ever greater social costs. Can this system be repaired? On the basis of what I have said above, the conclusion is that there is no chance of this. Its faults are embedded in the basic assumptions on which it was built. Actually, attempts to repair it have been made several times. In the new regulations concerning merchandise quality it is stated that, if some purchased item, despite being repaired several times, continues to show flaws in functioning, the purchaser has the right to demand that it be exchanged for another. We ought to turn to God or history to apply this regulation in this matter as well.

We have already been living for several decades in the economy described here. If on an everyday basis we do not so sharply see all these things, and do not associate our everyday experiences, however irritating they frequently are, with the basic assumptions of the system, that is because we have grown used to it, have created internal self-defense reactions, build our own small enclaves of private economic rationality, find help in certain sectors of the economy which are not yet dominated by the power of The Doctrine, sometimes depart for the internal emigration, and sometimes even descend to the economic underground.

Beyond that, we are still defended by our European culture, our Christian morality, and our national history. We are defended also by our ability to think. Our ultimate weapon might be precisely our own will and our independent reflection and analysis. This would be according to the principle: I think, therefore I am...free.

CSO: 2600

CATHOLIC CHURCH INTERVENES IN STATE-DISSIDENTS CONFLICT

Paris LE MONDE in French 10 May 80 p 4

[Article by Bernard Guetta]

[Text] Warsaw--The Polish [Catholic] Church has just intervened in a confrontation between the government and the opposition. Calling a spade a spade, on Thursday, 9 May, the Episcopacy urged authorities, "in the interest of domestic peace," to halt proceedings begun against those holding "different views." "The recent intensification of reprisals (...) fills us with concern and creates social tensions," write the bishops in their bulletin, adding that it would be harmful to the country to have "political prisoners."

This statement is all the more striking because it was published a few hours after 13 dissidents began their hunger strike in a church in the Warsaw suburbs. Members of the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), as in the case of Kuron, and the Human and Civil Rights Defense Movement (ROPCO), they want to support two of their friends, Chojecki and Kobzdej, who have engaged in the same action in public, Chojecki for a month* and Kobzdej since Monday (LE MONDE, 8 May). Beyond these two cases, the 13 strikers also want to protest the intensification of repression (a dozen dissidents have been sentenced or indicted in recent months) and to affirm their solidarity with imprisoned dissidents in other socialist countries.

Writers' Petition

On Monday, 5 May, 3 days before the beginning of this movement, a meeting of the Warsaw section of the Writers Union turned into a meeting to protest the detention of Chojecki. Out of the 23 speakers on the program, 11 defended him and violently criticized the government's policy. One of the leaders of the party organization within the Union, Bratkowski, member of the DIP [Experience and Future] group including Catholic intellectuals and critical communists and reputed to be close to Olszowski (removed from the

* And not since 15 April, as dissident sources previously indicated. Arrested on 25 March, Chojecki was finally to be force-fed after losing 7 kilograms.

Political Bureau at the last Congress), joined with the protesters, who were practically unopposed.

Following the meeting, the writers' petition on behalf of Chojecki gathered 24 new signatures in addition to the 91 already on it. As early as 16 April, at a plenary meeting of the leadership of the Union, which is headed by a member of the Central Committee, several persons brought up Chojecki's case. This mobilization of literary circles can be explained by the fact that Miroslaw Chojecki, the founder in 1976 of the underground publishing house Nowa, helped greatly, by the publication of many banned works, to fill what a group of writers call the "alarming holes in cultural life created by censorship." Consequently, after 4 years of tacit tolerance, the attack now directed at Nowa, through its publisher, would appear to be a serious regression, in the opinion of many intellectuals, even if they have no particular link with the opposition.

Element of Appeasement

In this troubled context, with developments mastered neither by the opposition nor by the government, the Church's position constitutes an element of appeasement, despite its firmness. Carefully balanced, the bulletin expresses at the same time the bishops' satisfaction over having seminarians exempted from military service and asks authorities to begin a dialog on pending problems between the Church and the State. "These talks," the bishops write, "will contribute to the common efforts of all Poles on behalf of the country's welfare and will serve the Church, society and the State." It is a reminder to everyone, those who govern and the governed, whether hard-liners belonging to the state apparatus or militant extremists alined with the opposition, that the ratio of strength inside Poland and its geographical situation require flexibility and concessions of everyone. This is therefore not in any way an appeal for the mobilization of the faithful, but rather, an appeal to reason and moderation in a straight line with the traditional policies of Cardinal Vishinsky.

There remains one disagreeable fact for the government: Since the Pope's visit, the Church henceforth presents itself explicitly as the interlocutor with which the government has to come to an understanding in order to channel discontent and mobilize the energies needed for economic recovery. Opposition groups (for whom the bishops are the only real protection against repression) increasingly appear to be mere pawns in a game they are not playing.

Volens nolens, they are the trump cards of a Church that has grown considerably bolder in hastening its footsteps in mined territory.

After demanding in December a "suitable place in the current phase of the nation's history" and asserting in March the "right of all citizens to act in their own organizations," on Saturday, the Church called its faithful to pray for the "freedom of the Catholic Church in Slavic nations."

11,464
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AMENDED DECREE ON MINISTRY OF DOMESTIC TRADE PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 39, 20 May 80 pp 2-4

/Decree No 446/1972 of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania on the Organisation and Operation of the Ministry of Domestic Trade/

/Text/ Decree No 446/1972
on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Domestic Trade*

The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Chapter I
General Provisions

Article 1. The Ministry of Domestic Trade implements the party's and state's policy in the field of domestic trade and is responsible for unitarily organizing and guiding the entire activity of domestic trade and for properly supplying the population in cities, worker centers and villages.

Article 2. The Ministry of Domestic Trade conducts, guides and controls the activity of the units subordinate to it and is responsible, as a plan titular, for the fulfillment of the plan for its entire activity.

Article 3. The Ministry of Domestic Trade ensures in its activity the application of the laws, the decrees and the decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. The Ministry of Domestic Trade collaborates with the other ministries and central bodies and with the local bodies in order to fulfill the duties that devolve upon it.

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* Republished on the basis of Article III of State Council Decree No 151 of 5 May 1980, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 37 of 7 May 1980, with a new numbering being given to the articles.

Decree No 446/1972 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 131 of 22 November 1972.

Chapter II
Duties

Article 5. The Ministry of Domestic Trade has the following duties:

a) Together with the Council for Coordination and Guidance of the Activity of Supplying and Performing Services for the Population, with the State Planning Committee, the ministries and the other central bodies involved and with the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest, it prepares the draft domestic trade plan as an integral part of the draft sole national plan for economic and social development. It organizes the studying of the demand for goods of the population on the whole, according to different categories of incomes and according to the local specific character and, on this basis, the supply of goods will be specified quantitatively and structurally in the draft plan, in accordance with the growth in production and taking into account the requirements of the population;

b) It contributes systematically to the development of the production of consumer goods, taking an active role in establishing the assortments and volumes of goods needed to be achieved by the production units, in order to properly supply the population. To this end, it organizes the operations of contracting for the supply of goods, in collaboration with the ministries and the other central bodies that have production or trade units subordinate to them and with the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest.

It orients and influences the tastes and preferences of the consumers toward the goods achieved by our socialist industry. Together with the ministries and the other central bodies that have production units subordinate to them, it organizes the popularization of the quality and the other advantages that the goods offer. In addition, it organizes fairs, pavilions, expositions with selling, and other actions for informing the population;

c) It participates in the preparation of the balances for the main consumer goods, together with the ministries and the other central bodies that have production units subordinate to them, in order to provide the resources of goods meant to supply the population;

d) Together with the ministries and the other central bodies involved and with the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest, it establishes, within the framework of the plan, the plan targets according to counties and the municipality of Bucharest, as well as the supply of goods for the main products;

e) In collaboration with the other central bodies with domestic trade activity, it establishes the standards for applying the legal provisions regarding the contractual relations between the wholesale trade enterprises and the retail trade enterprises. It establishes the responsibility that

devolves upon them for properly supplying the trade units. It prepares, in accordance with the law, technical standards referring to the delivery of goods by the wholesale warehouses to the trade units;

f) It coordinates, in accordance with the law, the importation of consumer goods meant to supply the population and the exchanges of goods from the market supply with other countries, performed by the central bodies with domestic trade activity. It takes steps so that imported goods correspond to the quality, hygiene and health conditions, in accordance with the standards applicable on the territory of our country;

g) It issues, in collaboration with the other central bodies involved, standards regarding the stocks of goods in trade and criteria for distributing the supply of goods to the trade enterprises, within the counties and the municipality of Bucharest, in conformity with the needs for supplying the population, and prepares standards regarding the clearances of goods and regarding perishability for the goods in the trade network;

h) It issues, in accordance with the law, technical standards regarding the sale of goods on consignment and regarding the intermediary activity of the socialist units in sales and purchases;

i) It exercises powers in the field of prices, rates and trade discounts, in accordance with the law;

j) With the consultation of the central bodies involved, it issues standards on organization, development, placement and equipping of the trade network. It provides for the organization, development and modernization of the domestic trade network and the improvement of the conditions for serving the population in the units in its own system;

k) It issues, in conformity with the law, standards regarding the manner of operation of the trade enterprises, with the consultation of the ministries, the other central bodies and the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest that have enterprises with domestic trade activity subordinate to them;

l) It establishes, in conformity with the law, the necessary measures regarding the quantitative and qualitative reception of goods by the personnel of the trade units, as well as the measures regarding the obligations that devolve upon the personnel in trade in connection with providing the services for the goods sold;

m) Together with the other ministries and central bodies involved, it organizes the recovery, by the trade units, of the containers resulting from the sale of goods and the delivery or sending of them to the suppliers. It provides measures for the direct and rapid circulation of containers, with a view to their reentry into a new production and delivery cycle. It participates in the preparation and finalization of the technical norms and

standards regarding the production of containers. It establishes measures for the expansion of containerization and palletization in the transportation and handling of goods. It takes steps for the prepackaging of products in warehouses and trade units, with a view to supplementing the quantities of prepackaged goods delivered by the production units;

n) It proposes, together with the ministries and the other central bodies involved and with the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest, the list of professions specific to trade activity, the network and the type of schools and establishes the annual schooling plan, in accordance with the law. It organizes the qualification of personnel by means of qualification courses, vocational schools and specialized secondary schools and the improvement and specialization by means of training and improvement centers, as well as by means of other forms of specialization. It provides the proper level of specialization to the personnel in domestic trade, as well as the education of them in the spirit of socialist ethics.

It collaborates with the Ministry of Education and Instruction for training the personnel with higher education necessary to domestic trade, in conformity with the law. For the schools subordinate to it, it provides the teaching, technical and administrative personnel, as well as the material base and the equipment necessary to the educational process;

o) It guides and controls the wholesale trade enterprises and retail trade enterprises subordinate to it;

p) Together with the union of branch trade unions, at the proposal of the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest, as well as of the ministries and the other central bodies that have enterprises with domestic trade activity subordinate to them, it awards, in accordance with the law, insignia and distinctive titles to the eminent and distinguished trade enterprises, to the work staffs and to the personnel with high professional qualifications and with faultless behavior and conscientiousness;

r) It pursues and is responsible for the fulfillment of the indicators that devolve upon it from the sole national plan for economic and social development and the state budget with regard to wholesale trade and retail trade. It draws up and executes, in accordance with the law, the income and expense budget for the ministry's central administration and the subordinate budgetary units. It determines, in accordance with the legal standards, the need for circulating funds for the subordinate units and provides such funds to them, with the agreement of the Ministry of Finance. It analyzes the periodic reports and balance sheets of the subordinate units and draws up the ones that concern the activity of the whole ministry;

s) It coordinates and guides the research and design activity in the subordinate units, organizes the activity of specific technical documentation,

follows the results of the scientific research and provides for their utilization. It brings out publications regarding trade activity;

t) It organizes and coordinates the activity of economic, technical and scientific collaboration and cooperation, here and abroad, in its field of activity and supervises the fulfillment of the obligations that result from this activity;

u) Within the limit of its jurisdiction, it approves the technical and economic documentation for investment projects and pursues their execution;

v) It provides for the application of the party's and state's policy on matters of personnel, for which purpose it establishes uniform criteria for selecting them. It establishes the need for personnel in the future. It appoints the leadership bodies of the units subordinate to it;

x) It participates in the preparation of the proposals regarding the improvement of the system for paying the personnel in trade. It takes steps for the uniform application of the system for paying the personnel in the trade enterprises in its own system. It establishes general measures for continually improving the living and working conditions of the personnel;

y) It gives to the executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest specialized assistance for solving the problems regarding trade activity;

z) It presents to the Council of Ministers drafts of regulatory acts and other acts provided by law. It gives advice on the drafts of regulatory acts and ones with another character, prepared by the other ministries and other central bodies, that involve its field of activity. It fulfills any other duties provided by law.

Article 6. The Ministry of Domestic Trade issues by means of instructions or orders, as the case may be, technical standards regarding trade activity, which are mandatory for all the socialist trade units, regardless of their subordination, and for any other legal persons and physical persons who performs acts of trade.

Article 7. Through the State General Trade Inspectorate, the Ministry of Domestic Trade performs the trade inspection for all trade units, regardless of their subordination, in accordance with the law.

Chapter III
Organization and Operation

Article 8. The Ministry of Domestic Trade is run by the ministry's leadership council, a deliberative body, which decides on the general matters regarding the activity of the ministry. The collective leadership of the ministry and the providing of the implementation of the decisions of the leadership council are achieved through its executive bureau.

The ministry's leadership council and its executive bureau, bodies with a deliberative character, are organised and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on the Leadership of the Ministries and the Other Central Bodies of the State Administration on the Basis of the Principle of Collective Leadership.

Article 9. The Ministry of Domestic Trade has in its leadership one minister, one first deputy minister, two deputy ministers and one state secretary.

The first deputy minister, the deputy ministers and the state secretary are appointed by means of a presidential decree, and their duties are established by the leadership council of the ministry.

Article 10. The minister represents the ministry in relations with the other bodies and organisations in the country, as well as in international relations.

Article 11. In accordance with Decree No 78/1973 on the Organisation and Operation of the Technical and Economic Councils and Commissions, the technical and economic council, a working body associated with the collective leadership bodies of the ministry, is organised and operates within the Ministry of Domestic Trade.

Article 12. The Ministry of Domestic Trade has the following organisational structure:

a) The General Trade Directorate for Foodstuffs, Public Nutrition and Containers:

The Directorate for Public Nutrition;

The Container Department;

b) The Trade Directorate for Textile Goods and Footwear;

c) The Trade Directorate for Metal and Chemical Goods;

d) The Plan and Development Directorate;

e) The Finance and Price Directorate;

f) The Directorate for Organisation, Control, Personnel and Education;

g) The State General Trade Inspectorate;

h) The Technical, Investment and Mechanical-Power Department;

i) The Secretariat and Administrative Department.

The General Trade Directorate for Foodstuffs, Public Nutrition and Containers, the Trade Directorate for Textile Goods and Footwear and the Trade Directorate for Metal and Chemical Goods have a legal personality and operate on the principle of economic and financial self-administration.

The organizational structure according to work departments and the maximum number of posts in the apparatus of the ministry are those provided in Appendix 1* and Appendix 2,* which are an integral part of the present decree.

Article 13. The Ministry of Domestic Trade has subordinate to it: centrals, enterprises, research and design institutes, personnel-improvement centers, vocational schools and specialized secondary schools.

Article 14. The duties and the standards for operation of the units mentioned in articles 12 and 13 are established by the leadership council of the ministry, in accordance with the legal standards.

The Ministry of Domestic Trade can found on the order of the minister, as necessary, within the subordinate economic enterprises, units with economic administration, having a current account at the bank. These units can conclude contracts on the basis of the authorization given by the head of the unit to which they are subordinate.

Chapter IV
Final Provisions

Article 15. Decree No 741/1969 on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Domestic Trade, which became Law No 66/1969, with all the later amendments, and any other provisions contrary to the present decree are repealed.

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* The appendices were approved by means of State Council Decree No 151 of 5 May 1980 and communicated to the institutions involved.

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OUTSPOKEN SAWPY PRESIDENT KURTOVIC INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1527, 13 Apr 80 pp 11-14, 31

[Interview with Todo Kurtovic, president of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, by Dr Nenad Kecmanovic and Emil Parzhik: "Four Hundred Questions Put to Todo Kurtovic"]

[Text] The initiative for this unusual interview came from the magazine OPREDJELJENJA [COMMITMENTS] (Marxist Study Center of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina). That is, Dr Nenad I. Kecmanovic, the magazine's editor in chief, and Emil Parzhik, editor of Radio Sarajevo, carried on a conversation with Kurtovic during last summer and fall to be published in the series "Topical Political Interviews," published by the Sarajevo "monthly journal of the theory and practice of socialist self-management."

Since the final result, more than 400 questions and answers covering 520 pages of typescript, is more like a book-length conversation than an interview in the conventional sense, the authors decided, aside from a major portion of the material which will be published by the magazine, to offer readers the entire discussion as a book.

The parts which we are publishing exclusively in this issue were selected by the editors of NIN with the author's consent. We should mention that certain questions and answers have been shortened for reasons of space though we endeavored in each case to preserve as much of the authenticity and essence of the conversation as possible.

On Revolutionaries Yesterday and Today

Question: Are there differences in your opinion between revolutionaries from the era of clandestine work and armed struggle and those from our own time?

Answer: Certainly the conditions, the situation and the relations--I am thinking of social relations--differ, and they have their impact both on the people and on the fighters, on the mode of operations, on the style of activity, and on many other things. But speaking generally, essentially and strategically, there is no difference: we are fighting for changes and the development of social relations. That was the concern both before and during the war as well. So in that sense it can be said that in a certain way there is no difference. I would repeat that the conditions were different, and the means were different, of course.... Now, for example, there are many things which develop envy and the hierarchical attitudes of the bureaucracy, which leads toward the formation of groups or even factions, but there were elements of that in the party even before the war and I would say even during the war to some extent. Yet it would be a mistake to say that there are no differences. We would have to go into the individual aspects of that question much more concretely, that is, make an analytical comparison aspect by aspect, and only then arrive at a true answer to that question.

Question: Was there less envy during the war?

Answer: Than now? Certainly less, since the conditions were different. It cannot be said that there was no envy during the war, that it was not manifested both in the units and in other places. This is being borne out now in certain memoirs. Perhaps it is not human nature, but something close to it. War itself brings a certain hierarchy and certain relations. Nothing should be idealized, not even men's behavior in wartime; people are people in every situation. The conditions do, of course, have a decisive effect on men and on their mutual relations.

Question: What do you think about people who are glad to leave professorships, institutes, clinics, newspaper publishing houses, and so on, to become professional sociopolitical officials?

On Professionalism in Politics

Answer: Someone has to be a sociopolitical official as a profession, either from that category, that is, the university, the clinic, the newspaper publishing house, from behind the lathe, or from some other place. Certainly one looks sympathetically on a man who is reluctant to leave his field to engage in sociopolitical work on a professional basis, since that means that he is happy in his work and is demonstrating abilities. But it is also good to have precisely such people come into sociopolitical affairs, since such men will also be welcome in professional political life....

Question: Isn't one of the possible reasons for this kind of behavior that professional political work is exceptionally well favored in terms of material incentives and prestige in our society?

Answer: Certainly that is among the incentives. I would not go so far as to say that the incentives are exceptional, as you say. We remember a time when people were reluctant to come into sociopolitical affairs, since aside from the advantages, there is also a great deal of that other side the sociopolitical official must deal with. The length of the working day, various responsibilities, all of which taken together should be borne in mind.

Question: Do you find it an acceptable situation in which a man is a distinguished public figure and official in one community, a republic or province, and to some extent an undesirable elsewhere?

Answer: That is not usually the case in practice. In exceptional cases, it again depends on a number of circumstances. First of all, on what kind of man would say that he is an official in one republic and undesirable in another? That is, who is this man who thinks of himself or imagines himself that way? I think that as a rule there are no such people, just certain exceptions. Those rare exceptions have existed, but again this is some specific case.... Perhaps mistaken opinions were formed at one time about certain people.... We have indeed had such cases, but those opinions change in the process....

Question: Every 4 years on the eve of the elections and changes in personnel, there is often unfavorable public criticism of the nervousness and the fighting for positions. Isn't it a normal thing that people should be interested in their future?

Answer: Certainly it is normal for them to be interested in their future, just as it is normal for them to behave sensibly, and sensible behavior presupposes that they will not engage in an unscrupulous fight for positions. The League of Communists and sociopolitical organizations, the Socialist Alliance in particular, should be fighting to maintain that principle. It is obvious that wherever there has been fighting for positions this has led to cliquish behavior; at one time, some 10 years or more ago, such cases were well known, and the press wrote quite a bit about them. However, we have fewer and fewer such cases, which does not mean that they should be overlooked as a possibility, and this is another thing that should be linked to social development. That is, we should bear in mind the conditions that bring this about and also our effort to prevent such effects. This is probably something that will last awhile, though the 1-year term and defetishization of official positions will have a beneficial effect....

On Truth and Authority

Question: By contrast with a majority of other professions, in which success and promotion depend primarily on the individual's personal abilities, application, ambitions and initiative, certain other factors may be decisive in the career of a professional politician: his nationality, his region, his republic or even his generation. How does this look from the standpoint of the professional politician's personal ambitions, feelings, security in his profession and outlook for the future?

Answer: I think some of those factors are not particularly decisive. They do exist, but I do not believe that they are particularly decisive. We should nevertheless look at things in their mutual effect on one another, as a whole. Take nationality. We take people equally from every nationality. But each nationality has an equal opportunity to push forward such people. So, both things exist. We should emphasize this: were we to act differently, we would have to speak about monopolistic behavior, of abuse. However, these principles contribute not only to democracy, but also to equality. I do not believe that there are decisive differences between men belonging to one or the second, third or fourth nationality, nor are there differences based on generation. Everyone has passed through certain periods when the question of generation was important, and the way in which people distinguished themselves depended on the conditions in those periods, but also on the men themselves. Were we to establish such a hierarchy, then we would come to the conclusion that centralism and unitarianism are the most suitable, and this would result in or would tend toward negation of the nationality and ethnic interests and the interests of the workingman. I think that in this context our principles on the one hand contribute to maximum democratic development of equality, and on the other to singling out the most capable, that they contribute to tolerance. In any case it is important to develop practice in that direction.... After all, the ethnic interest is also the interest of the workingman and incorporates a certain element of democracy. I do not believe that anyone's personal abilities can have been wasted. The question of whether everyone has been objectively treated is another matter, and that is in turn another topic. We are human beings, and I would say that we are subjective....

Question: There are cases when an initiative and even the truth have a different political weight when uttered by different people. How long will there continue to be a kind of antagonism between the authority of the truth and the truth of the authority?

Answer: First of all, if someone is really an authority, he has not become so by accident. So, that is one thing to be borne in mind. If he has said something, it is assumed that it is fairly close to the truth; but experience puts everything to the test, since confidence is never placed in anyone to last forever; it necessarily must be confirmed. So, the true authority himself verifies what he says, it is assumed that he knows what he is talking about; but when he errs, he is capable of making the correction,

and regularly does so. That accounts for the fact that statements can have differing political weight depending on who has said it, and to some extent it can even justify that difference; if we are talking about a true authority, that is. In our context the real truth must always win out, perhaps not for the moment, but sooner or later it must. Regardless of who has said it. To be sure, some people will have to be patient, we cannot change everything all at once any more than we can change our own skin. There are many things which we have been unable to change and which we will not be able to change for a long time yet.

On Dialog

Question: We hear from what is called the political structure justified criticism that polemics among figures in the field of culture ought to be conducted with more tolerance and adherence to principle, and indeed with more of a feel for dialog. Why is it that the politicians do not show the right way to do this through their own involvement or through a mutual interchange in the press?

Answer: In my opinion we have quite a bit of polemics in political debates. For instance, there has been quite a bit of criticism of bureaucracy and technocracy; and all of this constitutes polemics in its way. Nor can we look at this in isolation. By and large these are polemics conducted against specific points of view. In my opinion this is a good thing, even though no names are mentioned unless it is a necessity. Perhaps it would not even be a good thing to mention names, since we are fighting above all against phenomena, conceptions, viewpoints, not against individuals. Our tolerant attitude and endeavor to help people also are manifested here. There is no need for separate duals to be conducted through the press, in forums and in other places. This is anyway a daily occurrence in the assemblies, sociopolitical organizations and other bodies. There is no substitute for this, in my opinion, not even polemics conducted through the press....

Question: You have said that polemics conducted between political officials should not get into the newspapers. Is our public so immature that it cannot properly understand such differences in opinions and dialogs between them?

Answer: No. It is not that; it has to do with the nature of the thing; it is a question of seeking specific solutions; there is a regular way to do this--the assembly chamber, a particular forum, a section, a commission and so on. This is not separate from the public domain, it is an integral part of the public domain. The question of what part of all this is to be presented or should be presented or someone wishes to present through the news media is another matter. This is also an area in which certain opportunists must be taken into account: wherever practical solutions are being sought, we must allow everyone the opportunity to err without hindrance, and if this were carried in the media--that would be a hindrance. So there

are times when presenting everything to the public can be less democratic than not presenting it....

Why the Press Does Not Criticize Forums

Question: If a newsman is a sensationalist, one who creates a sensation at any price, what terms would we then give to the newsman of the opposite kind, the one who once again acts deliberately and tendentiously in turning an authentic sensation into a dull report, arguing that "the public" should not "be stirred up" by sensations?

Answer: In my opinion both are poor, and neither fits our context. We must strive for a higher quality. I think that in the present phase that is the number one issue for our news gathering. Our life is full of interesting issues and phenomena, and it is open. New things, which happen every day, are not a sensation, but they may be very interesting. It is obvious that the sources of information are much broader, and they allow for richer and more meaningful news. However, some of our newsmen would at times like to get everything from the Secretariat for Information. But the people there cannot do that, since the things happening in public life, in broadly organized public life, cannot be furnished by any one secretariat for information. It has to be followed as it happens....

Question: Have you noticed that the news media criticize high-level policy only when it has engaged in self-criticism?

Answer: It varies from case to case. All articles and texts are not the same....

Question: The newsman's proclaimed duty is to approach everything from a critical standpoint, but not to engage in faultfinding. When was the last time, permit me to put my question this way, you read a critical report on the proceedings of some high political forum?

Answer: A critical account is one which is affirmative, but which also criticizes what's no good. At least that is the way I see an account of the proceedings of a forum; you do find that in our press either in the presentation of opinions from the forum itself or in commentary--both affirmative and critical, of course. After all, this should be viewed as a whole; perhaps at times the affirmative has greater weight on an uncritical basis--not more weight in general, but in relative terms, in the given situations, but this does not mean that there have been no criticism of shortcomings. Perhaps the latter is not explicit or frank enough. The structure, then, of the criticism is not mere renunciation, but also affirmation. That is why one must take a scientific and overall view of this.

Dullness in the News Media

Question: Have you noticed a certain dullness in certain of our news media, a dullness which is regarded by editorial boards as a job well done from the professional standpoint?

Answer: True, there is dullness. That is, a sufficient effort is not made for quality. I think that is where most of the dullness comes from and is a cause of the certain dullness you speak about. In certain departments especially there is quite a bit of oversimplification, and that in the present phase is the most serious dullness. There is a lack of system, for example, in reviewing magazines, books and many other things. I would merely take this as an example; that does not mean that this is the biggest problem. To some people doing a professional job comes down to a matter of technique and questions of style and presentation, and there is not enough in the way of content and background, which in and of itself makes what these people write "dull" and the newspapers seem "dull," but then they blame someone else and do not see that they themselves are at fault. A certain dullness in the press comes from exclusiveness, a certain tendency to fill the pages only with the writing of professional newsmen, and this detracts from the quality of our press.

Question: What do you think, are newsmen entitled to a kind of affinity which is neither arbitrary nor subjective toward certain top-level political figures, in view of the fact that men are not the same, that some are better prepared and more gifted for this type of cooperation, more interesting to interview?

Answer: A newsman is entitled to seek what is more interesting for the readers, but not to be unscrupulous, to play favorites. He must not become a fan, he must be objective toward people and toward the interests of self-management, otherwise he could cause damage, he could engage in intrigues, and that is not beneficial.

Question: Is there an opportunity in our context for something we might call a constructive opposition, whose views could not be taken as a realistic alternative, but could be respected as an internal corrective, one which the movement, by insisting on absolute ideological monolithism, is unnecessarily denying?

Answer: We are all constructive in our way, and we are all both government and opposition, and every party member and every patriot, every honest man follows that pattern of behavior. We need a self-management democracy which makes this possible. But what could there be in addition to that? So, democracy and constructive criticism have been and remain correctives, but not groups of any kind which are striving to obtain accreditation. We all know what that amounts to. In this case, anyone who is a corrective on a lasting basis is by definition not involved in creation; and in our context an opposition can only be noninvolvement in creation, which means destruction! From the personal standpoint, those making this criticism will

be working people, so it may happen that one day someone is in favor of a decision which has been proposed, and the next day he is criticizing some other decision. That is the only real way in our context. This is that direct democracy which is an innovation of our system, which excludes any organization of a so-called constructive opposition, which I do not believe in in our context. That is, I do not believe in its constructive behavior, nor can it be that in our context.

On "Those Who Have Erred"

Question: It is thought by some that it was easier to rehabilitate oneself during the revolution than today. At that time the "man who had erred" went off on the most difficult assignment, but today there is no assignment for him.

Answer: I would hardly say so: I fear that in these comparisons we have mixed up pears with apples. First of all, the man who "erred" in wartime erred because of petty things. The one who really erred was the man on the other side of the barricade, but our own man who erred had committed the kind of error that today we do not even take into account because they are so small, since the conditions have changed essentially. The conditions were harsher, discipline and a certain respect for standards were required. So, pears and apples cannot be given equivalent values. Look at the behavior of some of those who have "erred" today. They have kept to their views, even when they appeared to enter the fight against them. This, then, is the case that cannot be rehabilitated; in practice this is indeed the rehabilitation they want.

Intellectuals and Politics

Question: There is a division of quite a few of our intellectuals into those who are always for and those who are always against the official policy.

Answer: I would not say that that is the case in actual life. Probably there are several groups in Yugoslavia that are always opposed. Some do not know themselves why they take that position. All of them together will not say what they are actually for and what they are offering and proposing. There are reasons for this, since then even small groups could not have any impact. The enormous majority of intellectuals favor this course, but when specific decisions are involved, the choice depends on a number of circumstances. The Yugoslav revolution has had exceptional support from the intellectuals, and that is one of its characteristics. All the most distinguished writers and intellectuals, nearly all, have in one way or the other been on the side of our revolution.... Therefore I could never agree, nor can I even understand such a division, that is, creating the impression that intellectuals are against the revolution. Certain groups, yes. But this is, I would say, class logic. Various dogmatic viewpoints in the period of the fierce struggle and confrontation immediately after the war also

imparted something to this. So I do not exclude from this differentiation that Cominform commitment which has been injected here. There has been a sense of it later in certain literary works, in behavior, in certain statements.... After all, it is not just that the member of the opposition works behind the scenes, but he also attempts to publicly oppose our ideology and our policy at the ideological level.

Question: I am thinking of the type of intellectual, especially in the social sciences, but also the arts, who is always applauding, who is an apologist of the status quo, who reduces his creativity mainly to rationalizing what has been officially established. Don't they contribute more to compromising the effort than to its success?

Answer: Not at all if we are talking about specific actions or campaigns, since these do not depend solely on them, but on a broader base. But their prestige and reputation will depend on the work they do.

Question: Don't you think that they also represent a danger in their way...?

Answer: In the context of an undemocratic system they might be a real danger. However, in the context of a democratic system, this does not represent any serious danger. It must, of course, be combated.... It is another matter if individuals conform only to such decisions--that is then a danger for those individuals, but less of a danger for the movement; today we should look upon this somewhat differently in view of the development of social relations.

On the Use of Influence

Question: It is said that success is not possible in political work, that one cannot distinguish himself without quite strong support from someone higher up in the hierarchy. What basis do we give such assertions?

Answer: Probably there is something left in the structure of society which objectively promotes that: but also in consciousness and in the particular interest of individuals! It cannot be said that this is decisive to our political life, nor has it ever been, not in any period, and in the present there will be less and less of it; but probably something objective still does exist in this regard. Incidentally, that is the nature of a hierarchy. It obviously can tend in that direction, that is, certain interests which encourage that kind of behavior may come about. But we should also bear something else in mind, and that is that there necessarily must be support and stimulation of younger people. Of course, the aim should be for everything that is beneficial and objectively necessary to be guaranteed democratically by the conditions, including the action of the conscious factor. There will always be a need to give support to younger people entering political life. Nor have I, for my own part, seen anything bad in that, nor do I now. But, of course, it is one thing to encourage young people and

something else to adopt certain people as permanent proteges. When I say younger people, I mean people who are really younger in age.

On Those Who Have Dropped Out

Question: Comrade Todo, among those who entered the revolution with you, those you marched with for a time, there are those who have dropped out. What do you think about them? I am thinking of those who are alive.

Answer: I have always tried, whenever there was a need, to always say what I thought about them, whether it happened to be something to their credit or something against them; that is, I have tried to do both. I could not be silent about the virtues shown at a particular time by those who possess them or to the extent that they did in part possess them, but I could not keep quiet about their shortcomings either; certainly it is their greatest shortcoming that they have dropped out, that is, that in given situations they behaved in a way which represented a great difficulty for our country. This could not be overlooked; and if they themselves have not changed their position, it cannot be overlooked even today. As far as I am concerned, I would like all these people to reassess their line of thinking or positions in such a situation and to get their bearings. I have even tried to help some of them in that respect, that is, to turn their attention to certain things....

However, dropouts are dropouts! They have their logic. It is difficult to incorporate that and try to find some common language with these people. There are simply no bridges, there is no possibility, the unity that had been created has begun to dissolve. So, one should bear this in mind. Usually, if I am not obliged, I do not speak about these matters, just when it is absolutely necessary. When I have had to speak, I spoke in meetings, in assemblies, and in every other place without beating about the bush.

Question: Must a distinguished political official be careful about the company he keeps?

Answer: Why should he have to be careful? I don't understand that. He will find his comrades and friends among those he finds congenial. By friendship we need not mean a restricted group, but that largest circle of people for which he has an affinity, where he is well received, and so on. Official obligations and the duties of his position are something else. Of course, there are certain rules of behavior. Everyone must accept them. In my opinion, these rules are the same for everyone if there are in society any rules in that respect.

Question: In other words, you spontaneously avoid individuals whose politics are not comme il faut, and not as a political obligation?

Answer: Certainly.

Question: There are errors and errors. Are there errors in politics which cannot be forgiven?

Answer: Certainly treason, for example, cannot be forgiven. That is, solutions are sought for many people to become actively involved, for them not to be rejected, but treason cannot be forgiven even in our context. Let us take all such cases, since the war, for example, and begin with those which are best known, and we will see. Some people have even been taken back into the party, but something remained which is difficult to forget, not because you don't want to forget, but because it is not objectively possible, such actions have done discredit to a man's entire work; so that the entire work done by that man has lost some of its value. So, whatever happened existed earlier and to some extent has left an imprint on what came afterward.

Question: When asked whether a father's prestige in society was of benefit to his children, one distinguished sociopolitical leader recently replied ambiguously, "They had great trouble finding jobs, and I can imagine how it is for others...." Have your children, your sons that is, had trouble finding jobs?

On the Children of Leaders

Answer: My sons have found jobs in the normal way, just like everyone else. One is a customs official, and the other is in the news field. Both of them are doing what they are trained to do. I don't think that their carrying my last name helped them, since objectively it ought not to help them, nor should it now in doing their specialized work. The attitude people might take toward them because they are part of my family is another matter. I have the impression that they regard this as a complex on the part of those people, not their own complex by any means. Probably there are those who think that this helps them, though, of course, one shouldn't pay much attention to that, nor attribute much importance to it. Finally, we are all just ordinary people, and that approach should be taken to this matter, and an effort should be made for this to be understood as broadly as possible.

Question: Fine, so far as you and your children are concerned. What do you think about this on a broader scale? Are there cases of nepotism in this sense?

Answer: I have had the impression, at least in the circle in which I move, that most of these young boys and girls will not need anyone's sponsorship. These are good people, and experience has shown it, regardless of certain stories which might sometimes have been dreamed up. And even if those individuals who have had difficulties in their schooling because of inadequacies which are normal as in other children, they are good people and they do good work in line with their qualifications; regardless of whether it is some position which has no significance whatsoever in the hierarchy,

or, of course, some other job. There have certainly been exceptions, and there would have to be, and that is quite natural.

Question: What about the climate at large in which some people feel that by giving unscrupulous support to the children, they will be currying the favor of the parents?

Answer: In the end they look ridiculous.

On His Books

Question: Comrade Kurtovic, your manuscripts obviously arouse great interest on the part of publishers. As well as readers--judging by the many editions. What do you think, how much is that affected by the political prestige of the position you hold?

Answer: Probably the prestige of the position does have an effect. But let me explain this. We are talking about something which is derived from the position. It is a question of views of certain issues, and not of the position as such. Most of the writings, I will not say all, are related to interpretation of policy. For example, the book on information. It quickly sold out and went into another printing, which indicates the interest of many people concerned with this, that they need such a book for its information, but only as a particular viewpoint, a certain view, which ought to be kept in mind, since in this field we are all exploring. It is quite understandable that in this respect they also might be interested by my views because as a member of the Central Committee I handled those affairs which were related to practice, just as they might be interested by my viewpoint regardless of what affairs I might have been concerned with. So, this should be viewed in this way, not from the standpoint of the hierarchy, but from the standpoint of information, when it is already a fact that an author has worked in a particular position.

Question: For many years you have been holding high public positions. Have you thought about what sort of personal attributes recommended you for such responsible positions, that is, what in your opinion should be the profile of a present-day distinguished Yugoslav political leader?

Answer: I have heard people talk a bit about this, but I have never thought about it, and therefore I would not be able to give an answer. In any case, and probably mine as well, people are expected to do quite a bit of work in responsible positions. Moreover, both with officials and all others, I particularly value the effort to do work the way it should be done and to work competently. Then certainly there are devotion to principle and consistency, then objectivity and responsiveness in dealing with people and social phenomena of key importance. Tolerance and a democratic attitude in our context, as well as frankness and clarity are becoming increasingly important. As for myself, that is what I value most highly in officials at the present time, that is, I feel that it is all the more indispensable at

the present time. Of course, anything that does not accord with certain basic principles which must be respected certainly leads, or can lead, to poorer work....

A party member must be an honest man, but not a man who bends to suit every opinion wherever he may be, even though it be the prevailing opinion. On the other hand, even in those cases one should act in a manner which contributes to tolerance, and not to the generation of conflict. There are times, I would say, it is better to give in graciously so that it does not get the better of you, if I can put it that way; one must be and one must remain an integrated individual who also understands other people....

On Private Life

Question: Have you had occasion to back off from your own ideas because they were not in demand, to put it figuratively, on the political market at the time?

Answer: Generally speaking, no. In certain cases--yes, and that often happens, but now we are talking about concrete practice.

Question: During the revolution and after the war the party kept an exceedingly close watch on the private life of its members. The line was taken at that time that there should be a kind of revolutionary asceticism in personal life. Has it now gone to the other extreme today?

Answer: One should bear in mind the conditions. First of all, the conditions in which people lived and worked, and the differences are rather considerable in wartime and the postwar period. Second, though the general views were known, practice varied widely. At least at times extremes in this variety should not be taken as the policy of the party; especially in the postwar period there was more of this variety. Perhaps now there are exaggerations, I would say, in the other direction, just as at one time there was in that ascetic treatment, though, it seems to me, even in those extreme behaviors there was nothing essentially ascetic. A man's private life is his own. We cannot take a different viewpoint. But I must immediately add that every man is required to be mindful of what he does and how he does it. A member of the League of Communists has a special obligation not to do what is not acceptable to a particular community, since we, our society, have our own set of ethical standards. Certainly the man who does not behave in that manner, in conformity with our set of ethical standards, inevitably comes into conflict with party policy--and life has shown that on the basis of experience.

On the Stability of the Movement

Question: There is the thesis in political theory that a system's tolerance of an opposition is the standard by which its stability can be judged and that insistence on the danger of the external and internal enemy tends to reinforce order.

Answer: To a great extent that is true. For that reason the jails are empty, though this proportionality should not be literally taken. One thing is clear: our revolution has defended itself and will defend itself, our government has developed out of the revolution, and not out of the parliament, and it has its own method of defense, and it is certain that it can never accept other methods than those from which it has arisen: if stricter measures are needed, that depends on the circumstances, above all as to the specific circumstances on the foreign political situation. So, there are times when a fiercer defense is needed, or, if there is a need for a fiercer defense, why not?

Question: As for the second part of the thesis, that insistence on the external and internal enemy tends to reinforce order?

Answer: What does insistence mean? If it means exaggeration, then this is unobjective for our situation and unacceptable, but if it is pointing to something which is real, then certainly it is in order, it can help to mobilize the workingman against those real dangers which exist.

Question: After having dealt successfully with some type of opposition, we usually stress that we have emerged from that crisis much stronger, more homogeneous, and firmer.... How is it that problems make us stronger?

Answer: It is that we are solving the problems. By the very fact that we have solved them, we are stronger than while they existed. If we have exposed a particular group so that they cannot take broader positions, aren't we then stronger, aren't we stronger than we were before we did that? It is a question, then, of a process.

Question: Would it not be better, then, never to get in such situations of closing ranks?

Answer: It would, but that would be an ideal society, which we are not. We leave that to those who will live in a communist society, who will do the job after us.

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RELIGIOUS PAPERS CRITICIZED IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 80 p 9

[Text] In some papers of religious communities which are published or distributed in Bosnia-Hercegovina, themes of a non-religious character, which often have political implications, are appearing openly or in disguise.

This was said among other things at yesterday's meeting of the Coordinated Council of the Republic Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina for Questions Concerning Religion and Activities of Religious Communities on the occasion of the examination of current questions in connection with the publishing activity of the Conference in the republic.

The meeting was presided over by Muhsin Nalic, and the introductory presentation was given by Franjo Tolic, counselor in the Commission for Religious Questions of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At the meeting the judgment was made that organs and organizations of the Socialist Alliance should, as they have done thus far, react timely to the attempts of politicizing the papers and publications which are published and distributed by the religious communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In this respect, the bearers of such activities should be disclosed (as was the case with the reactions to some writings in PREPOROD) and it should be explained to the working people and citizens that, in the name of religion, some anti-socialist and anti-self-management positions and opinions have been supported in some articles of religious papers.

The participants at the conference gave several proposals, suggestions and comments to the information on current questions in connection with the publishing activity of religious communities in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which [the information] was drawn up by the Commission for Religious Questions of the Executive Council of the Assembly of our republic. The above mentioned information will be examined again at this Coordinated Council.

CSO: 2800

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA INTENT ON ESTABLISHING OWN AIRLINE

Resume of Sarajevo Complaints

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 80 pp 8-9

[Article by Dinko Omeragic: "Fog on the Waiting List"]

[Text] The Sarajevo Airport, through no fault of its own, set an unhappy record last week: seven out of JAT's [Yugoslav Airline] nine flights were canceled! Some flights--to Belgrade, for example--were even canceled 3 days in advance. In the brief "modern era" of this airport of ours nothing like this has ever happened except in very bad weather.

However, last week there was neither fog nor wind--the sky was clear. But the explanation which JAT sent to passengers was foggy indeed: the flights are being canceled for technical reasons!

At about the same time as the "Sarajevo air troubles" news came in about the justifiably sharp protest Zadar had addressed to the Yugoslav Airline. The executive council of the opcina assembly of this coastal town condemned the JAT's decision to temporarily suspend flights from that city to Zagreb and Belgrade for commercial reasons!

So, one explanation was given in Sarajevo, and another in Zadar about why the planes are not flying. Thus "fog" has moved in over a quite unpleasant incident. As a matter of fact, it is quite obvious that JAT's inability to meet the larger needs of passengers and the economy is involved in both the "technical" and "commercial" reasons.

To one who is fully familiar with everything that has happened in recent years at the Sarajevo Airport--the passengers especially--this canceling of flights for frequently inexplicable reasons may even seem like a story already grown stale. There have been so many such situations in recent years. At the same time, it is well known that a number of meetings have been held at the city and republic level in an effort to get JAT to finally meet the increased desires of passengers and the economy.

The Case History

As for JAT, it has done a little something, but in the main it has been generous with its "explanations" of many kinds, those, of course, which suited it at the given moment. For instance, according to Atif Rizvanovic, manager of JAT's business office in Sarajevo, last week's cancellation of flights from the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina occurred because one of the DC-9's was being repaired!? Sarajevo paid the "bill" on Monday, 25 February, when flights to Belgrade and Titograd were canceled. The next day, Tuesday, flights were canceled from Belgrade and Titograd and to Zagreb, and on Wednesday, 27 February, the flight Sarajevo--Belgrade--Sarajevo did not take place.

> [Box, p 8] Last year the Sarajevo Airport received and dispatched 3,349 aircraft. In scheduled domestic traffic there were 2,332, there were 47 domestic charter planes, domestic carriers had 114 charters in international traffic, and there were 651 executive aircraft.... Precisely 286,221 passengers traveled on domestic lines, and 10,799 passengers passed through Sarajevo in international traffic.

And the news leaked out that commercial reasons were nevertheless involved. It is said that JAT has its economic reasons--when the aircraft is not full.

"Absolutely not! Those are fabrications. Exclusively technical reasons are involved!" JAT's official representative in Sarajevo answered categorically.

Sarajevo was given that explanation, but in Zadar JAT defended itself this way:

"We have had an extremely small number of passengers, and we had no other choice but to suspend the flight," said Petar Dobric, chief of JAT's business office there.

However, one really needs to be naive to take these and similar explanations at face value. No one in Zadar, for example, could be satisfied with JAT's announcement that it was suspending flights from that city for 5 entire days. The executive council of the Zadar Opcina Assembly called this action by our largest air carrier unusual and unacceptable. An official demand was sent to the management of JAT in Belgrade and to the Croatian Secretariat for Transportation and Communications seeking adherence to the schedule by this air carrier.

"By suspending its flights JAT is ignoring the most basic standards in transportation, and its responsible people ought to give some thought to that," stated Ivica Mastruko, president of the Zadar Opcina Assembly.

There have been protests like these in the past as well, and they have come from our other cities. Between its power and its inability to meet the commitments it has assumed in domestic transportation, JAT is obviously defending itself with explanations referring to "technical" or "commercial" reasons. Nor is it any secret that a group of pilots of our largest airline were greatly angered when the superexpensive DC-10 aircraft were purchased for intercontinental flights, which reduced, or rather minimized, chances to build up the fleet for domestic transportation. The explanations concerning the reasons for flight cancellations often seem strange and naive when one is aware that the fleet is small and the demand and the commitments assumed are great.

To Have and To Have Not

JAT has certainly played a large role in development of our civil passenger transportation. But it is still more obvious that the present and the future demand much more than JAT is offering at the moment to the regions of our country. Bosnia-Hercegovina, for example, can by no means be satisfied by the fact that it is apportioned only 0.4 percent of the total landings and takeoffs in Yugoslav air transportation. This adds even more to the justifiability of creating and organizing its own airline, which incidentally is taking place.

However, there is also the impression that these realistic ambitions are looked upon with some suspicion in certain quarters. For example, even in official affairs one can trace JAT's argument that the small passenger demand is the principal reason why its airplanes are not flying according to the "timetable of desires," along with a mild admixture of disbelief that the demand of the region has actually grown. Toma Dzadzic, NIN's [WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE] otherwise well-informed "specialist in JAT affairs," put a question in this style in an interview with Ratko Milanovic, director of the Air Transportation Sector of UNIS [Associated Metal Manufacturing Industry of Sarajevo]. It is really amazing that the otherwise well-informed Dzadzic should use questions framed in JAT's explanatory style--is it true that he really has never been on the "waiting list" when flying to or from Sarajevo? In an article entitled "The Flock and the Bird" (NIN, No 1508, 10 February 1980) Dzadzic "reminds" the person he is interviewing of JAT's figures on the inadequate passenger demand on flights for Sarajevo and by conducting the dialog in that style gives the impression of someone who is not entirely clear in his mind about establishing an air carrier for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

But to one who has felt JAT's flight schedule "in his own case," everything is quite clear. Sarajevo Airport is the best example.

What the Figures Say

The Sarajevo Airport has rightly been called the "unscheduled airport." If credit is to be given for this label, then it certainly should go to JAT,

whose planes have been arriving late and taking off late and very frequently have been canceled.

At the same time, tracking down the figures, we easily arrive at the truth and the greatly increased interest of passengers and the economy in development of civil air transportation. Ten years ago, for example, only 39,000 passengers passed through Sarajevo Airport, but 5 years later the number had increased nearly fivefold--planes to and from Sarajevo carried 158,049 passengers. Last year the figure was 303,612! However, in spite of this increase in passenger traffic, the Sarajevo Airport has only 2 percent of the total passenger traffic of the civil air transportation of the country as a whole! No one in Bosnia-Hercegovina can be satisfied with this fact. Not to mention cargo traffic and in general the greater needs of the economy.

A "datum from the future" also illustrates the extent and kind of interest there is in traveling on airplanes to and from Sarajevo: in the last year of this century, the experts estimate, passenger traffic through the Sarajevo Airport will be all of 1,114,000!

Evaluating the present and looking to the future, the specialists commissioned to draw up an investment program for expansion of the Sarajevo Airport made the following assessment: "In spite of its inadequate connections with other airports in Yugoslavia and abroad and also the small number of routes in general, Sarajevo Airport has had a steady growth in passenger traffic. The average growth rate of passenger traffic at this airport is higher than the growth rate at any other airport. The growth rate would have been higher if the number of routes had been increased, since the general public and the economy are highly interested in using the services of air carriers. It is a fact that in Sarajevo it is not possible to obtain airplane tickets on the present routes 3 or 4 days in advance."

Experts of the Aeronautics Section of the School of Transportation in Belgrade arrived at the following figures in preparing a study on the demand and potential of air transportation in Bosnia-Hercegovina: 720 passengers per day--departing from Sarajevo--seek tickets on one of the routes, but the present air carriers, JAT above all, can satisfy only 360 of the requests. The average daily demand of passengers departing from Sarajevo is 260 in one direction (Belgrade), 232 to Zagreb, 106 to Ljubljana, 39 to Skoplje, and an average of 46 per day to Titograd.

On Its Own Wings

At the same time practically nothing has been done to give Bosnia-Hercegovina direct "air bridges" to Europe and the rest of the world, though there has long been an evident need for direct routes to Frankfurt, Zurich, Bagdad, Tripoli, Athens, Istanbul, Moscow and Milan--centers of countries in whose regions the economy of Bosnia-Hercegovina is achieving very important results.

The only domestic air carrier to have established a direct foreign line is Inex-Adria of Ljubljana, which has a route from Sarajevo to Dusseldorf. Yet only 16 airplanes have flown, and only 2,555 passengers were carried during July, August and September. There were also 114 charter flights, and in the totals this is only 5 percent of the passenger traffic of the Sarajevo Airport last year.

Inex of Ljubljana, responding to the local desires, recently opened a business office in Sarajevo, whose manager Simo Simic says: "The demand of this market is truly great, and we hope to satisfy the great demand as much as we can. That is in fact why we recently introduced transit routes to Hanover, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Hamburg. The interest is great."

The needs and the desires, then, are as clear as a hand before your face. Sarajevo's "olympic era" has also begun, and thought is now being given to the datum from Innsbruck to the effect that all of 400,000 passengers traveled through the airport there during the 1976 Winter Games. Four years from now that figure from Innsbruck will be greatly surpassed in Sarajevo.

For all these reasons it is quite hazardous to lose any time, and it would be an illusion to wait for a solution from outside. Knowing this as well as it knows that "two and two make four," Bosnia-Hercegovina has once again affirmed the principle of relying on its own resources, which in this specific case means having its own air carrier.

> [Box, p 9] It is expected that passenger traffic of Sarajevo Airport (up to the year 2000) will increase as follows: 401,000 in 1982, 637,000 in 1985, 775,000 in 1990 and 1,147,000 passengers in the year 2000. The growth of passenger traffic and the number of flights by executive planes, the experts conclude, will be affected by the organization of the Sarajevo Winter Olympics in 1984, formation of the Work Organization for Air Transportation and the expected associated development of commercial and executive aviation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. That is why plans were made to install the terminal of the airport to include an international section and other facilities necessary to customs and passport clearance, the airline and other air transportation services. The airfield already has the status of an international airport. The modernization program also calls for extension of the runway by 450 meters. The reconstruction would give the Sarajevo Airport the status of a "high first-class international airport."

"There Is Bread for Everyone!"

As SVIJET has already written, the idea of establishing a Bosnia-Hercegovinian air carrier was born 5 years ago, and after examining its feasibility, which has been confirmed by specialists, the executive council of the

Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly on 23 March 1978 supported an initiative to form the Sector for Development of a Work Organization Air Transportation, a job which was entrusted to UNIS. The job has already progressed a long way, and demonstration flights are under way for the purpose of choosing aircraft. The plans call for purchasing 4-5 aircraft and an internal program to train flight personnel.

The air carrier of Bosnia-Hercegovina would link Sarajevo and Mostar, then Banjaluka and Tuzla, and two-way routes would be introduced between Sarajevo and Belgrade and Zagreb. Regular daily routes have also been planned between Sarajevo and Split, Rijeka, Pula, Pristina, Skoplje, Maribor, and Osijek, more precisely, all those cities with which such connections can be established. Bosnia-Hercegovina will finally obtain permanent routes toward the Adriatic--Dubrovnik, Split, Rijeka, Pula and Zadar.

"All of this presupposes modernization of the existing airports and construction of new ones in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We are convinced that Bosnia-Hercegovina will soon have air transportation which will provide it what it is looking for--a faster, more efficient and more reliable access to the world," Ratko Milanovic, director of the Sector for Development of a Work Organization Air Transportation of UNIS-TURIST, in a recent interview for SVIJET.

Milanovic was right at that time when he emphasized a very important truth: "There is bread for everyone! It is not a question of an immature competition of domestic air carriers! It is simply that through the activity of the Work Organization Air Transportation we are creating conditions for more effective and frequent air traffic between Bosnia-Hercegovina and the rest of the country and the world!"

The sky, then, is clear and--wide!

Retort From Belgrade Newsmagazine

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1524, 23 Mar 80 pp 12-13

[Response by Toma Dzadzic to the article entitled "Fog on the Waiting List" published in SVIJET of Sarajevo: "Who Is Selling Fog?"]

[Text] When we published the article entitled "The Flock and the Bird" (No 10) last February in which we examined the prospects for Yugoslavia to get its fifth air carrier, UNIS of Sarajevo, we received the first commets from JAT. They criticized us for not having presented the line of argument of our largest air carrier to refute some of the criticisms of JAT on which the application for Sarajevo to get "its own" air carrier is based.

Now an issue of SVIJET of Sarajevo dated 2 March has brought up a charge from the other side. It holds that NIN is at fault for supposedly using

JAT's arguments to spread mistrust of the campaign to organize an air carrier within the framework of UNIS. We would not pay attention to this if we had not been bothered by one of the author's premises, conscious or unconscious, in the article of Dinko Omeragic, which was published under the title "Fog on the Waiting List." That is that NIN is published in Belgrade, where the headquarters of JAT are also located, and therefore it is taken for granted that it must be on JAT's side. Omeragic is not in the least shaken in this view by the fact that we have never "defended" JAT anywhere and we have not written a single line--nor anything between the lines--against the future airline company, nor is he shaken by our evident effort not to take the viewpoint of either side on this issue. The author of the article, however, does for his part exactly what he attributes to NIN. From beginning to end he is completely on the side of UNIS, altogether uncritically and without the least reserve, neglecting or reshaping all the facts which do not fit in. To be more precise, if the facts contradict his line of argument, so much the worse for the facts.

So on this occasion we feel an obligation to say something about this. But let us begin from the beginning.

First, there is an entire passage in the article in SVIJET which has to do with our own article:

"However, there is also the impression that these realistic ambitions are looked upon with some suspicion in certain quarters (the reference is to establishment of a Sarajevo air carrier--T. Dz.). For example, even in official affairs one can trace JAT's argument that the small passenger demand is the principal reason why its airplanes are not flying according to the "timetable of desires," along with a mild admixture of disbelief that the demand of the region has actually grown. Toma Dzadzic, NIN's otherwise well-informed 'specialist in JAT affairs,' put a question in this style in an interview with Ratko Milanovic, director of the Air Transportation Sector of UNIS. It is really amazing that the otherwise well-informed Dzadzic should use questions framed in JAT's explanatory style--is it true that he really has never been on the 'waiting list' when flying to or from Sarajevo? In an article entitled 'The Flock and the Bird' (NIN, No 1508, 10 February 1980) Dzadzic 'reminds' the person he is interviewing of JAT's figures on the inadequate passenger demand on flights for Sarajevo and by conducting the dialog in that style gives the impression of someone who is not entirely clear in his mind about establishing an air carrier for Bosnia-Hercegovina."

So in what way did NIN's newsman err? Presumably in following one of the most elemental rules of newsgathering: "to also hear the other side" (in this case that of JAT) by reminding the director of UNIS' Sector for Air Transportation "of JAT's figures on the insufficient passenger traffic to and from Sarajevo."

in the article entitled "The Flock and the Bird," which was available to readers of NIN, as well as the editors of SVIJET, the idea of establishing an enterprise for air transportation in Sarajevo was not disputed anywhere. The reader might rather have noticed criticism of JAT: when in spite of the fundamental offers made in good time for it to better organize air transportation in certain regions (which incidentally no one has answered), it did not offer the republics any detailed studies on this subject. But NIN also wrote about the low economic efficiency of flights on the majority of the domestic routes and also of the probable losses of UNIS' future aircraft, which again SVIJET does not take up as a topic for debate.

And is that business about the "specialist in JAT's affairs" the truth? It depends on the point of view. In JAT's internal records NIN is far out in front among members of the Yugoslav press for its "negative" writing about this airline company: 87 percent of NIN's articles published in 1979 JAT found to be unfavorable to its work organization. Of course, it is a completely relative matter as to what somebody may mean by the term "negative" applied to what the press has written about him.

Instead of repeating the error with malicious insinuations about who is whose newsman, that is, "for whose affairs he is responsible," we will turn attention to the figures used by SVIJET.

In its desire to emphasize the greater demand of the Sarajevo region, SVIJET writes that in 1979 passenger traffic through the Sarajevo Airport was 303,000. They do not make it clear that half of these passengers were arriving, and the other half those departing in the same aircraft. However, when it is discussing the number of aircraft, SVIJET uses a different computation: the flight on which passengers arrived in Sarajevo and the flight by which they departed from Sarajevo is taken as one aircraft. Which means that two yardsticks are used for the same phenomenon, and it turns out that the aircraft are carrying passengers in just one direction, and there they stay forever. Or perhaps they return empty. As a matter of fact that is how people who have an affinity for clear expression would interpret the article of SVIJET.

SVIJET goes on to the categorical assertion: "Bosnia-Hercegovina, for example, can by no means be satisfied by the fact that it is apportioned only 0.4 percent of the total landings and takeoffs in Yugoslav air transportation."

Shall we also look at that?

JAT's aircraft alone annually record about 40,000 flights over Yugoslavia. If we compute 0.4 percent of that number, we get 160 flights. Yet the aircraft of that enterprise landed 1,650 times last year at Sarajevo, according to what SVIJET itself writes, and 1,650 times they took off again. But this is not 0.4, but a full 4 percent.

If we continue the computation, it turns out that on the 1,650 flights to Sarajevo and the 1,651 flights from Sarajevo (so, they do after all come back) there were a total of 379,615 seats in JAT's DC-9 aircraft (each of which has 115 seats). However, according to JAT's computation, a total of 203,458 Sarajevo passengers were carried in both directions. Judging by these figures, it might be said that the aircraft from and to Sarajevo, using the average for the entire year, flew half-empty.

Nor would a few other comparative figures be out of place here. SVIJET writes that every day Sarajevo needs 260 seats in aircraft for Belgrade alone. On the other hand Jasenka Rapajic, independent researcher on the development of production for JAT, says that the average JAT plane between Belgrade and Sarajevo carried 74 passengers, though there are 115 seats (this is 64-percent use of capacity). From Sarajevo to Zagreb, according to what SVIJET has written, there is a daily need for 232 seats, but JAT's official states that on the average only 58.2 percent of the seats are filled between Zagreb and Sarajevo. Between Sarajevo and Titograd the utilization is still lower--22.7 percent of the seats in planes, and utilization between Sarajevo and Skoplje is 20.3 percent. So, while SVIJET states that between Sarajevo and Ljubljana there is a daily need for 106 seats in one direction, JAT's figures show that only 36.9 percent of the potential tickets are sold.

Once again, JAT says that because fares are not economical the only domestic routes which ordinarily pay are Belgrade--Ljubljana and Belgrade--Titograd. The losses on the other lines are made up with revenues from international transportation, and only here and there a route is subsidized by some region.

The NIN reporter tried at least to borrow from Prof Dusan Zoric of the Transportation Institute in Belgrade the study he did on development of air transportation for Bosnia-Hercegovina. He was told to submit his request to UNIS of Sarajevo, which commissioned the study. Ratko Milanovic, director of the sector for that enterprise's air transportation graciously resolved "that this is material which is a trade secret by nature." And, of course, it could not therefore be accessible to the press. Thus the figures of JAT's specialist remain unconfirmed, but also unrefuted.

It is not our intention in all of this to defend JAT against the many sound criticisms of its lateness, cancellation of flights without good reason, insufficient concern about passengers, all of which could have an effect on the desire to find a solution by creating new air carriers. To repeat: not in a single word did we oppose development of air transportation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. UNIS is the fifth air carrier appearing in four Yugoslav republics. As is well known, two other republics are also preparing two more air carriers for themselves.

Unfortunately, collaboration even among the existing enterprises of this kind is only symbolic. Between the air carriers on the one hand and the

republics on the other collaboration hardly deserves the name. Who knows, perhaps this is the way to establish better cooperation in air transportation: one should be an optimist and hope that when everyone has his own planes, perhaps it will then be easier for them to understand one another.

Even on the last occasion, indeed in the subtitle of its article, NIN said that "the most important thing is not whether there will be one more enterprise or one less, but the extent to which altogether they will constitute an integrated system." This is the view that it takes even now. That makes the insinuations of SVIJET all the more difficult to comprehend.

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BRIEFS

TRIAL OF NOVI ZAGREB OPSTINA OFFICIAL--The trial of Josip Tkalec, secretary of the opstina assembly of Novi Zagreb continued on Thursday before the Criminal Court of the Zagreb District Court, which was presided over by Judge Vladimir Sucevic. According to the indictment he was charged with causing the death on 1 December 1979 of Stjepan Jozinc, then president of the Executive Council of the city assembly, by a dangerous action at the Gata field of the Sokol Hunting Club. During the trial ballistic and court medical experts were interrogated; all the hunters who were hunting pheasants that day also witnessed. The distance among the hunters remains a question: 20 to 30 meters, or, as the defendant and the defense claim, on 15 meters. This is going to be very important because of the dispersal of the buckshot. Because of this, additional expert opinion by top specialists in ballistics for hunting will be given before the trial on the third day. The trial will continue on Friday when also the verdict is expected. [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 May 80 p 16]

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